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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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Friday
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# Daily Report
## Central Eurasia

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# Key Developments

## Reportage on 'Elections '95' Program Campaign Coverage

### KRO Presentation Shown

*LD2211220795*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1540 GMT on 22 November carries the "Elections '95" program with an eight-minute presentation by the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO]. The video presentation begins with clips of its three leaders — Yuriy Skokov, Aleksandr Lebed, and Sergey Glazyev — briefly saying what their party is and whom it represents and clips from interviews with people in the street voicing their support for them. This is followed by an extract of a speech by Lebed at a meeting of the congress in which he stresses the Army's main function — to protect the sovereignty and independence of the state.

Next come contributions from Skokov and Glazyev.

Skokov says: "The opinion that politics is a dirty business is a convenient way of covering up, camouflaging, and explaining one's unseemly, immoral behavior. A politician must be moral, and authority must be moral. In other words, if it says something it should go ahead and do it; if it makes a promise it must strive to carry it out; if it cannot, it must say: I cannot, there is no way."

Glazyev says: "Our economic program, as distinct from what the government is doing today, proceeds not from any abstract dogma or the interests of private groups or foreign capital, but from those demands, proposals, and instructions that we have been receiving over the past two years from all kinds of public groups."

Skokov continues: "We are in favor of a democratic, law-based state. It seems to me that democracy is a question of jointly working out agreed rules about how to live together and the conscientious implementation of these rules. Order, in my view, is a matter of monitoring the observation of these rules."

Lyudmila Vartazarova, chairman of the Socialist Party of the Working People, stresses her movement's respect for the individual as a priority of their philosophy.

Dmitriy Rogozin, chairman of the executive committee of the Congress of Russian Communities; Yuriy Kalmykov, a State Duma deputy and representative of the Union of the Peoples of Russia; Sergey Burkov, chairman of the Duma Committee for Ownership, Privatization and Economic Activity; Mikhail Kolchev, chairman of the central committee of the Independent Union of Military Servicemen; Tatyana Malyutina, head of the Association of Russian Women Entrepreneurs; Sergey Goncharov, chairman of the Association of Veterans of the Alpha Antiterrorist Subunit; Konstantin Zatulin, chairman of the Duma Committee for CIS Affairs and Liaison with Compatriots, and the teacher Yekaterina Sedova all make brief contributions in which they point out positive aspects of the movement's election platform.

### Cosmonaut Appears in CPRF Video

*LD2211161995*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0630 GMT on 22 November during the "Election 95" program carries a live six-minute studio slot on behalf of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] presented by former cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya.

The feature opens with a brief election video showing pictures of a Russian armored vehicle, a soldier carrying a baby from a helicopter, bodies lying on the ground, ruined homes along a street and the Russian parliament building after it was shelled. The video ends with a caption saying "Who is going to stop this?" and stills of leading Communist Party candidates. A message moving along the bottom of the screen as party leader Zyuganov's photograph is displayed reads: "We are for peace! We are against civil war!" A final caption reads: "Vote for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation!"

Savitskaya, wearing two medals, said: "The forthcoming elections give us all the chance to try and change things in our country for the benefit of the majority of the population. Because it is only the new Russians, the privatizers, the corrupt, bribe-takers, people from the world of crime who have gained from the pseudo-reforms which our apologies for reformers, for democrats, are trying to implement. The majority of the population has lost out. Virtually all of us now have lost faith in tomorrow: workers cannot be sure that they will not lose their jobs, pensioners cannot be sure they will receive their pensions tomorrow, servicemen do not know if they will be paid on time and a mother, giving her child up to the army, does not know if he might go to Chechnya and perish. Even the new Russians don't have faith in tomorrow, because they come under bursts of fire, shall we say, in criminal score-settling."

She goes on to recall Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's "500 days" shock therapy plan for economic reform, most of which has been implemented, pointing out that science, further education, industrial research and high-technology industries had suffered the most. She says: "It would be strange to say that things are fine, when an academician here now is paid two-and-one-half times less than any poorly qualified worker in a commercial organization. Yet these people, those who work with their brains in science, created unique technologies which were also, by the way, used in industry and their technologies remain sought-after both by our foreign competitors and by their secret services. Unfortunately, over the past three or four years we here have even lost the opportunity — completely lost the opportunity — to produce dozens of unique technologies we had in the country. So why have we lost this opportunity? People have left, industry has come to a halt, scientific research and development is not being conducted. It is not being done because it is not funded by the state.

"When Boris Fedorov, the leader of 'Forward Russia!' is so critical of the present government, I always recall how, as finance minister, he made huge efforts and did a great deal to wreck our defense industry, to make our science run aground. At that time the government took the course of not financing our science from the state budget, as every developed, normal country does, but looking more to gifts from foreign sponsors like the Soros Fund. Nothing comes free. Our scientific achievements, our intellectual potential, our brains — as we say — are going abroad, moving away, because we cannot now fund them. When Boris Fedorov says that we did not have the money in the state budget, I recall that he did nothing. He did not object when in his time enormous financial advantages were given to commercial organizations and the financial elite, who were brought closer to the powers that be. He was silent on this, and the money by-passed the budget.

"Our party also believes that we should move into the 21st Century without going backwards, that we should move into the 21st Century with a market economy, but one regulated by the state, which would operate for the benefit of the majority of our population. We believe that we have to deal with social security issues and deal with the issues relating to our children. It is disgraceful that in our country there are almost a million homeless, neglected children.

"Comrade voters, I think that when you come to these elections you will say what you think about the present authorities, who should of course now leave the political scene, and vote for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. We are number 25 on the ballot. We are expecting you at the polling stations — come. Don't miss the chance to change things for the better in this country. This is a rare chance for us and an opportunity to become the true masters of our country. We are expecting you." The feature closes with a video of homeless children around a fire on waste ground, against captioned "Who will stop this" and stills of candidates, ending with Zyuganov's portrait captioned "We are for happy childhoods", the party logo and the caption "Vote for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation".

### Zhirinovskiy Speaks on LDPR

*LD2211224495 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0630 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[Statement by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, LDPR, in the studio; from the "Elections '95" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] I have just heard the speech by the communists' representative, and I will not try to demonstrate to you that those in power today created the misfortunes that are tormenting you all today. I will tell you straight: These are all one and the same party. Savitskaya mentioned Fedorov, but they are of the same party and now, under various banners, they are once again deceiving you.

I want to say to you that today the biggest and most dreadful problem is that of our children. Today there are 4 million homeless children and this is hushed up. Officially there are 1 million. Ninety percent of them are ill. What will become of them in ten years time? They will be criminals. Even now we have 3 million bandits, more than we have soldiers, and what will it be like in the year 2005? Or 2010? This is not a program to improve our lives, but that of the West and our fifth column, a program for finally finishing Russia off. The country has fallen apart, there are no frontiers. The economy is half-dead. The entire nation is out on the pavement, some selling their bodies, some selling their possessions, some selling their souls.

You are summoned to elections, and you are troubled — what to do now? You are weary — once again they are all standing up before you and making promises, those who are not in power saying they are good and that those in power have done everything badly, made mistakes. They are right, but apart from the LDPR they have all been in power. They are all former ministers, former deputies. They are all members of the former CPSU, all of them.

Now they are starting to cut each other up. But the children... [pauses] You remember how in the Civil War it took the Bolsheviks four years to deal with the homelessness problem, well, the LDPR will resolve this in three or four weeks, because there will be enough boarding school homes, special homes, teachers, and resources so that we can immediately return 4 million homeless to normal human conditions, to being part of our society. The president was elected by the whole people and he should be protecting all the citizens; he should have no political bias; he cannot — he does not have the moral or political right — represent a section of society or political parties.

We can fight for your votes, but we cannot deny that each party represents some section of the populution. For this reason the LDPR will not be attacking any party. It understands that every party is backed by its voters. However, the LDPR says: What are you doing with the Army in Chechnya? What is it, a war? It is the destruction of the Russian Army. For exactly one year they have been expressly not giving the Russian Army the opportunity to put an end to this war. It is a war, there are 2,000 militants in all. They should have been shot in November 1994, and hundreds of thousands of people saved. We are now pouring trillions into restoration work. Is this any way to run a state? The leadership says: Yes, yes, they are shooting, we know that, they are killing, but we have to have talks. What is the price of these talks? One year of talks and thousands of corpses or wiping out 3,000 militants in one night, have no talks at all, and peace and quiet throughout the entire Caucasus?

We respect the peoples of the Caucasus, no offense is intended when the people of Russia say: Caucasus — no. The LDPR is very respectful toward everyone, to people from Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, Osetia, and Kabardia. There are hundreds of ethnic groups. Unfortunately, there are very many itinerants from the south, southerners, mostly, unfortunately, from the north Caucasus and the trans-Caucasus region. Most often from beyond the Caucasus, from, say, Azerbaijan. They have packed all our towns, all our markets. They are swindlers, which is why Russians have a negative view of the south. It is a geographical concept. No offense to the residents of the trans-Caucasus and the northern Caucasus — there are many honest and good people there, but there are too many bandits who have come here to prowl. There is a war there and they have come here. We see them in our markets, on our roads, in our cars. They corrupt our people, which is why Russian people often have a negative view of this region, not of the peoples, not the ethnic groups. The LDPR is therefore against any kind of ethnic strife, against any social strife, against banning any parties or stirring them up artificially, against creating false blocs, bringing out fake, ancient artists and generals who have nothing behind their backs. Yes, they bring out generals who have lost wars and say: This general had very good relations with the soldiers in Afghanistan. He looked after them. He looked after them — and the nearby regiments shed blood! He looked after them because he had an agreement with the local bandits, and drugs and weapons passed through the positions of his regiment. The soldiers do not know about that, like the whole people knew nothing between 1917 and 1995. Even now you know nothing. Even now you do not know about last year's Black Tuesday when small groups enriched themselves, became multi-millionaires while you became even poorer.

The LDPR, therefore, has a realistic program on all positions. It is the only party not to have been in power. We want to and will make things good for the majority fast — it is not possible to do it for everyone. Egalitarianism is out of the question. But we will make sure that no one goes hungry or is jobless or homeless. That can be done very fast. For that all we need is to be left alone to do it. A mixed economy but one in which the state sector is dominant.

The national question: only the field of culture. A single language: Russian. Single borders of one Russian state and only with those who want to be with us. Whoever wants to set up independent states — particularly in the north Caucasus — can do so. I spoke to Dudayev for two hours two years ago, in September of 1993. There were no wars then, all was quiet. I told him: Dzhokhar Musayevich, I know that between 200,000 and 300,000 Chechens fanatically want to have a state of their own. OK, it can be set up on the other side of the Caucasus range. All those who want to make the peoples of north Caucasus have independent states can do so on the other side of the Caucasus range. I could say a great deal about this problem; it is very complex. We publish many papers of our own, you take out subscriptions — the LDPR publishes 4 million copies a month.

My time is coming to a close now. You will be able to hear me again on 30 November on the First Channel at 1900. Let me repeat: There is only one goal — to destroy the Russian people. According to forecasts of some Western experts, only 25 million Russians will be left by the year 2030, and we will be a national minority everywhere, surrounded by the great states of Udmurtia, Chuvashia, Bashkiria, Tatarstan, and so on. That is why we must not allow the Russian people to perish. It has a great mission: to save itself and all the small peoples surrounding it. Farewell to you till 30 November 1900 hours on the First Channel.

### 'Women of Russia' Features Video Clips

*LD2211154695*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0525 GMT on 22 November carries on its "Elections '95" program a seven-minute slot for the Women of Russia bloc. The slot opens with a picture of a field and sunflowers followed by the a woman cleaning a banner. A list of laws unfolds on the screen as a voice-over says: "The words power and policy are both feminine. But we're used to the fact that both power and policy are the domain of men. In other countries, from Sweden to Pakistan, women can be elected president or appointed minister. Our patriarchal traditions remain strong, but the Women of Russia political movement and its faction in the State Duma have been in existence for two years. The number of deputies in the faction is not high, far from it, but they are among the most active ones in the Duma. Over 200 laws have been drawn up and adopted with their participation."

In archive clips, Duma speaker Ivan Rybkin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin say kind words about the faction. Over video of a brawl among deputies in the Duma, with women trying to restrain the fighters, the voice-over continues: "The Women of Russia faction has found its niche in Russian policy between extreme democrats and the extreme left. Centrism calls for special qualities in deputies, such as level-headedness and self-control. It is precisely this center that holds the parliament back from extremes and resolves conflicts. This position envisages selfless efforts."

In a recorded video clip, Nizhniy Novgorod Governor Boris Nemtsov speaks of his respect for the faction. Another clip shows Nikolay Svanidze, presenter of the RTV program "Details," making laudatory comments about women in politics. Other clips with man-on-the-street interviews on women in politics follow.

Yekaterina Lakhova's address to voters is shown. She is followed by another filmed clip in which Alevtina Fedulova, deputy chairman of the State Duma, says: "Today, everyone is tired of politics, innumerable conflicts, and confrontations, concern about tomorrow, one's own future and that of our relatives. That is why Women of Russia are again acting independently in the elections and do not want to form a bloc with any political party or movement.

"Well-educated, well-trained, level-headed, thoughtful, and peace-loving, women can and must independently defend the interests of families, their children, veterans, invalids, and our whole Russia. We cannot take yet another four years of political aggression and confrontation. Women of Russia are supporting peace and public accord."

A selection of video clips follows, showing members of the faction in the Duma and during visits to various places, with Yekaterina Lakhova featured in each clip. The broadcast ends with the same commercial and picture of the field with sunflowers.

## Lysenko on National Republic Party

*LD2311171995 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 0525 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[Election broadcast by Nikolay Lysenko, chairman of the National Republic Party of Russia; from the "Elections '95" program — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hello, dear fellow citizens. I represent the National Republican Party of Russia, and I am addressing myself primarily to Russian people, since our party speaks directly and unambiguously about defending the interests of the Russian nation above all else.

For 1,000 years, the Russian state served and protected the Russians, and, during those 1,000 years, our path was one of progress and prosperity. During those 1,000 years, we went from victory to victory, from success to success, from glory to glory. But then, in 1917, our country was given an internationalist character by the Bolsheviks, and the madness began — civil war, the mass murder of ordinary people, the dispossession of the Cossacks, the dispossession of the peasantry, the famine of 1920, the famine of 1929, the famine of 1930 and, as a natural consequence, the current wretched perestroyka.

Therefore, if we want to realize the full depth of the national decline in which we find ourselves, if we want to move out of it, we must understand one simple truth: The road to all that we hold sacred lies through the regeneration of the Russian nation, through the strengthening of the position of the Russian nation in the structure of the state and the structure of our Russian society.

That does not mean that we will act, or that we are acting, as a party against other peoples. Not at all. For millennia, Russians have lived in peace with Tatars, Chuvash, and all the peoples that live on the territory of Russia. But we must tell everyone clearly and distinctly, and above all we must tell ourselves: We must defend our Russian home. We must defend our national interests, since, if we do not do that, crowds of appointed favorites without nationality, without kith or kin, without national pride and national honor will rule over us.

This happened in 1917, when the Bukharins, the Rykovs, the Trotskiys and the Berias did just what they wanted to the Russian people. Their modern spiritual heirs, if they can be called that, their proteges, these Chubayses, Chernomyrdins, Shokhins and Shakhrays, are they any better? Have they proposed anything new to our people? Have they been able to do anything that enables our people to feel the masters in our Russian land? No, they are continuing the policy of plunder, they are continuing the policy of total betrayal of Russia's interests so as to please the transnational, mainly American, monopolies. They are doing everything possible to make a Russian continue to feel degraded and robbed, to feel a second-class person in his own state, and you know perfectly well that that is true.

In Yakutia, Udmurtia, Tataria, Chuvashia — everywhere, the processes of national separatism are taking place. Everywhere, the Russian is being squeezed out, and he is shown that the only place for him is the workshop, that he cannot be in the forefront of political life. Everywhere the so-called national sovereignization is in progress. Ulusy [administrative divisions in the old Yakut ASSR] have already been set up in Yakutia. Already there are virtually no Russian structures, administration or media in Yakutia. The process is under way in Tatarstan too. It has already been in progress for a long time and has, in effect, ended with the complete indigenization, as they used to say, of staff [korenizatsiya kadrov] in all Russia's republics in the Caucasus.

In Chechnya, this has led to the exodus of 300,000 Russians. How much mass genocide and vandalism against Russians there is there! It's no secret that two out of every three Russian women in Chechnya have been raped, that hundreds and thousands of ordinary Russians have been killed, and that Russians became not just second-class citizens, but the slaves of Dudayev's criminal regime.

So today we must declare quite clearly: We must unite. We must become aware of our national goals. In the new conditions, we must go out into the world around us, go out to all peoples, and primarily to the Russian people who live in Russia, with our program, with our national Russian program for building and strengthening our state. If that does not happen, we will collapse as a nation, there will be no Russians, and there will be no Russia.

So I urge you to cast your votes for the National Republican Party of Russia. I urge you to support us. Our number on the ballot paper is 28.

I will expect you at 1910 [1410 GMT] today on the ORT channel, the first channel.

Thank you.

### Ryzhkov on 'Power to the People!'

*LD2311213995*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 23 November carries the "Elections '95" program with a seven-minute election broadcast presented by former Soviet prime minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, on behalf of the Power to the People! election bloc in his capacity as its leader. Some video montage, which includes archive Soviet footage of enthusiastic masses, precedes a recorded interview with the speaker.

Ryzhkov opens with an explanation of why he thought he ought to take part in the election:

"Today I cannot remain indifferent to what is happening to our country. Our country today is in the protractedness of an in-depth crisis. It has practically come to an impasse. To watch from aside at what is going on and to do nothing is, I believe, impermissible to those who can do something for their country."

Ryzhkov singles out a threesome of persistent phenomena to be dealt with as a matter of urgency to avoid further disillusionment of the public at large: The decline of production, the breakdown of the welfare system, and the growth of criminality. Pressed on his plans to reverse the situation, he says:

"As the leader of the bloc, I think we, together with the like-minded of whom there are also election blocs, will certainly form a government of popular trust. We need a government that will serve the people. People now wonder what will happen when our bloc or other similar blocs win. What will happen? Will it be total nationalization as was the case in the past? Or will it be anything other than that?

"On behalf of our bloc, I would like to state that we do not pursue the aim of nationalization anew. We believe that, where businesses have undergone flotation and where staff own their business, let them work, let them produce, and let them enjoy the benefits of their product. The work force should own their product. We, however, categorically have opposed and will oppose, once we are in the State Duma, what has been done by [Anatoliy] Chubays [first deputy prime minister], when the whole of the country and the national economy went for a song.

"How can we put up with the fact that entire industries have disappeared, have been sold dirt-cheap. All this has been done for a purpose. This is not a mistake. This is a deliberate policy authored, as is known, by Chubays. I believe that Chubays will enter history as he who ruined the economy in the making for decades and centuries."

Asked whom he regarded as his political enemies, Ryzhkov says:

"We regard as our political adversaries those who ruined the Soviet Union. We regard as our political adversaries those who allowed the state to which our great power and our people are in today. Specifically, they are Russia

Is Our Home and the government that runs the country today and which is responsible for the current state of affairs; they are [Yegor] Gaydar and [Aleksandr] Yakovlev who pushed these reforms through, with our country still adrift amid them; and they are Boris Fedorov and [Sergey] Shakhray who was behind the disintegration of our country."

In conclusion, cautioning the electorate not to trust the multifarious preelection promises, Ryzhkov gives this assurance:

"I want us to fight for our great Russia together. I will always be with you."

### LDPR Receives R9.933 Million in Campaign Donations

*LD2211215895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (INTERFAX) — The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia has received 9,933 million rubles [R] in donations to its campaign fund, more than any other election bloc, sources in the Russian Central Electoral Commission told INTERFAX Wednesday.

In particular, donations from organizations and companies account for 4,486 million rubles and personal donations — for 997 million rubles.

The Ivan Rybkin's bloc received 1,250 million rubles in donations, including 20 million from organizations and companies.

Women of Russia received 680 million rubles, including 600 million in donations from organizations and companies.

At the same time, donations to the campaign funds of Our Home Is Russia, Russian Trade Unions & Industrialists-Labor Union, Forward Russia, Yabloko and some others are limited only to 80 million rubles provided by the Central Electoral Commission.

The sources told INTERFAX that blocs can finance their election campaign only with money from their campaign funds.

Earlier, under the law on elections to the State Duma, the Central Electoral Commission opened provisional accounts at the Moscow branch of the Russian savings bank Sberbank for the formation of campaign funds for all blocs authorized to take part in the parliamentary elections. Each bloc can spend on its campaign a maximum of 10.9 billion rubles, with personal donations not exceeding 1,311 thousand rubles and donations from organizations and companies not exceeding 87.4 million rubles.

## Regional Activities

### Premier Seen Electioneering in St. Petersburg

*MM2311161295 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 95 p 1*

[Report by Valeriy Vyzhutovich: "Viktor Chernomyrdin Could Oust Communists from Cradle of Their Own Revolution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] St. Petersburg — Viktor Chernomyrdin's two-day visit to St. Petersburg — 23-24 November — is officially being called a "planned working trip." But the official disguise for the true aims of the visit will hardly fool anyone. But why obscure matters anyway? A hunt for votes (albeit a "royal" hunt like this) is a legitimate enterprise.

On the squares and streets — wherever there are crowds of people — Viktor Chernomyrdin is met and greeted on his escorted tour of the northern capital by his election poster image showing him with hands clasped.

The precision accuracy of his choice of interlocutors (the military, representatives of the defense sector, the directors' lobby, students, construction workers, and medical personnel) would have revealed the premier as a sophisticated fisher of voters' souls had Sergey Shakhray, Gennadiy Zyuganov, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Irina Khakamada, Arkadiy Volskiy, Stanislav Govorukhin, and Sergey Kovalev not displayed a brilliant mastery of the same skill the day before....

The polls conducted by a sociological center in November showed that of those who have definitely decided to vote in the elections 19 percent are going to vote for Yabloko and 16 percent for the Communists. In third place in this trial run (with 10 percent) is Russia's Democratic Choice. In fourth place (with 7 percent) is Russia Is Our Home. Next come the Congress of Russian Communities (5 percent), Forward, Russia! (5 percent), and the Party of Working People's Self-Government (4 percent). The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, according to polls in the past three months, is anchored on the 1.5-percent mark.

According to the polls the number of St. Petersburg citizens who favor the dismissal of the government has fallen from 50 percent (February) to 30 percent (November). You cannot cut this figure to zero in the space of two days, but Viktor Chernomyrdin is trying his best to reduce it now. He has brought the military men the government's decision to settle all the Defense Ministry's arrears in November. He has brought duped investors (there are over 300,000 of them here) the president's edict on the creation of the Compensation Fund and a personal pledge to gradually pay back all the unlucky supporters of financial pyramids. The city authorities, in their turn, do not intend meekly "waiting for charity" from the head of the cabinet but are astutely planning to "get their share" from him right now, when the election campaign is at its height.

According to local observers Viktor Chernomyrdin could oust the Communists from the cradle of their own revolution. The premier is not promising anyone that he will review the results of privatization (which is precisely what Gennadiy Zyuganov and his comrades in arms are demanding). "An income amnesty — that is what will appeal to many people to the government's position," political psychologist Aleksandr Yuryev said in an interview for IZVESTIYA. "People have earned money, some of them have built themselves a dacha, bought a car, or sent their son or daughter to study abroad...."

If the Russian premier, who is not given to radicalism, manages to impress the St. Petersburg people with this, the number of Communist supporters in Lenin's former city will, God willing, fall.

## Forecasts & Commentary

### Analysts Name 'Seven Most Popular' Blocs

*LD2211135995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1247 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[By Liliya Kuznetsova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW November 22 (ITAR-TASS) — Three weeks before parliamentary elections in Russia, the Centre of strategic analysis and forecast named the seven most popular election blocs which are sure to overcome the 5 per cent hurdle and win seats in the new State Duma. Communists head the list and nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is the last but one.

Dmitriy Olshanskiy, the director of the centre, told a press conference on Wednesday that the communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov is in the lead thanks to its consolidated ranks.

The nationalist Congress of Russian Communities is the second thanks to the personal popularity of its number two man, maverick General Aleksandr Lebed. The leader of the movement, Yuriy Skokov, who is widely rumoured to be the most possible candidate for the post of the prime minister, has also become more active politically of late, according to Olshanskiy.

The centrist "Women of Russia" are the third and overtake the Our Home is Russia bloc of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin despite an active election campaign of the latter.

The liberal reformist Yabloko bloc of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is the fifth in the popularity list followed by Zhirinovskiy who has lost many of his supporters since 1993 elections.

The last in the list is the conservative Agrarian party which puts its stake on the countryside.

The remaining 36 parties and movements would hardly pass the 5 per cent hurdle, according to Olshanskiy. However, most chances to win seats in the lower house are enjoyed by the centrist election bloc of State Duma speaker Ivan Rybkin, the centrist "Workers' Self-organisation Party" of Svyatoslav Fedorov, the "Democratic Russia's Choice" of Yegor Gaydar.

Olshanskiy said the analysis was based on opinions of experts and public polls.

### Polls Assess Ratings of Generals in Elections

*LD2411102795*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 2120 GMT on 23 November carries a seven-minute regular Thursday opinion poll slot on the "Versions" program. Announcer Sergey Dorenko discusses with Yelena Petrenko of the Public Opinion Foundation the results of polls on the prospective turnout in the 17 December parliamentary elections, fighting crime, and the popular view of the generals running for the Duma.

Petrenko says that, asked on 18 November whether they would turn out to vote, 60.7 percent of respondents said they would compared with 55.9 percent on 11 November, Noes were 21.9 and 27.9 percent for the respective dates, Don't Knows were 11 and 12.9 percent respectively, and 3.2 and 3 percent respectively had difficulty answering the question. Petrenko says the increase in the number of people who plan to vote indicates the advertising campaign is having an effect.

Asked about the struggle against crime, 53.5 percent of those polled put the inevitability of punishment first; 27 percent said penalties for possessing weapons should be made tougher; 24.9 percent wanted protection for private property; 24.6 percent opted for ending privatization; 22.4 percent said the militia should be granted unlimited powers; 19.2 percent said the volunteer militia should be reestablished; and 15.3 percent said weapons should be freely on sale for personal protection. Commenting on these statistics, Petrenko points out that they show people realize the link between the economy and crime.

In a poll on the generals running in the current parliamentary elections, respondents were asked whether particular individuals reflected the interests of the electorate, and whether they were thought to be honest men.

Of those polled, 29.9 percent thought Aleksandr Lebed reflected their interests and 30.1 percent thought him an honest man. The figures for other politician-generals were as follows: Boris Gromov — 14.8 and 15.1 percent; Aleksandr Rutskoy — 10.2 and 8.2 percent; Eduard Vorobyev — 6.4 and 7.5 percent; Lev Rokhlin — 4.9 and 5.8 percent; Albert Makashov 3.3 and 2.3 percent; Vladislav Achalov 1.7 and 1.6 percent; Yevgeniy Podkolzin 0.5 and 0.2 percent.

## Daily Analyzes 'Success' of KRO Movement

*MM2211161895 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Nov 95 p 3*

[Article by the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Analytical Service: "New Favorite or Nine-Day Wonder? The Congress of Russian Communities on the Eve of the Parliamentary Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI analytical service has already, at the beginning of August (see No. 143 for 2 August 1995), examined certain aspects of the unexpected emergence on the Russian political stage of the Skokov-Lebed tandem, which, it turns out, had formed long ago, and has covered in detail its (then still hypothetical) attempts to create a powerful election movement in genuine opposition to the current political course. Especial attention was devoted in the earlier article to the history of the subject, the personalities involved, and also to the objective prerequisites for the creation of the movement and the subjective difficulties entailed.

But, since then, a number of events have occurred which confirm that the task which the bloc's leaders set themselves has been wholly successful, and which also enable us to supplement the information already published with new facts, which reveal and clarify the fundamental standpoints and the political prospects of the Congress of Russian Communities (KRO).

One of the main events was the KRO's congress, at which the movement's program and platform were ratified and the lists of candidate deputies were provisionally agreed. One achievement of the congress was the large public stir which it provoked. Then followed the collection of voters' signatures needed for the movement to be registered, and the bloc's official registration in the Central Electoral Commission.

It should be particularly stressed that, for the KRO (unlike several other blocs), this entire range of measures, essential for any electoral movement, passed off extremely successfully and smoothly: The program and lists were ratified without the excesses that are typical for such a tricky question; votes in support of the bloc were collected without difficulty, on time, and even with a surplus; the registration of the signed papers by the Central Electoral Commission passed off without problems — the bloc was the second to be registered, after the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], which is also very significant. All this enables one to state that the movement has come out onto the election running track in fine "athletic shape." For an (at first sight) new political force, this triumphal procession is simply unique, and as a phenomenon (leaving aside for the time being the sum and substance of the movement) has only one counterpart in our country — the victorious election marathon of the 1993-model LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia].

### The Main Policy Provisions and Personalities

In its policy documents, which were ratified at the bloc's fourth congress, the KRO emphatically distanced itself from the principles of partisanship, and proclaimed itself "a supraparty movement, whose participants may hold different views and differ in their...political orientation, but who are united by sorrow for our much-abused Russia."

To understand the essence of this political phenomenon, it should be borne in mind that the KRO cannot be classed as some new or untraditional occurrence for Russian statehood. Rather, on the contrary, many symptoms enable one to adduce an, in some ways veiled, but in others, actually all too flagrant, attempt *to restore the traditional specific features of Russian political life*, which were destroyed as a result of the revolutionary-democratic turmoil (of spring 1917) and the subsequent social experiments carried out "under the banner of Marxism."

The question of the actual possibility of such a restoration is problematic: Too much water has flowed under the bridge since, and too much has changed in the Russian mentality, but it is by no means accidental that in his memoirs, which have been extensively used as election propaganda material by the KRO, Aleksandr Lebed calls on all of us "to become the heirs of Czarist Russia according to the situation as at February 1917, and thereby restore the link with the past and the continuity of the generations."

Both the idea and the phrase are indeed attractive. But the link between which generations does the general have in mind? After all, does the generation of February 1917 no longer exist? However, deep analysis of the bloc's policy documents inevitably leads to the conclusion that the aforementioned fact is not so important, since generations are not so much the issue as the total restoration of the model of rule traditional for prerevolutionary Russia, all the branches of which radiated from the head of state, who was the culmination of and who organized the entire military-bureaucratic structure of state administration and coordinated the interests of the imperial and regional elites in the framework of the Russian [russkaya] national idea. And therefore the KRO's policy material unambiguously indicates that one of the aims of its constitution in the form of a "spontaneous self-organization of ordinary people" is "the gradual construction of a new system of statehood."

And this, too, is a considerably attractive, albeit not very definite, thesis. The historical masks and analogies to which contemporary politicians resort with increasing frequency undoubtedly have a deeper sense and require independent analysis, and — on close study — most vividly demonstrate the enduring severity of a number of the country's chronic problems. The citation from Stolypin — "You want great upheavals, but we want a great Russia" — which was hurled by Viktor Chernomyrdin at the current State Duma deputies, and the communal, anti-Stolypin metaphors of Yuriy Skokov, which call on us to work for the victory of the "unified, nationwide community," only show once again that the tasks faced by Russian society at the beginning of the century have not been resolved to this day, that there are people with diametrically opposed views on the methods of resolving them, and that they could serve as the basis for further confrontation... How do the ideologues of the Congress of Russian Communities propose to resolve these problems?

**First, by restoring effective state administration in the framework of a wholesale purge of the existing bureaucratic apparatus** (this policy thesis is usually translated by the KRO in pretty sharp terms, on the lines of Lebed's famous verdict: "A thief belongs in jail"). On the whole, it can be stated that the KRO gives the traditional corruption of Russian functionaries as one of the major reasons for the country's ungovernability and the intensification of the crisis, which, undoubtedly, bears a far more complex, systemic character (and changing one group of functionaries for another will change little here).

**Second, through "organizing a fundamentally new system of negotiating procedures" in labor collectives, sectors of the economy, among the federation components, and at federal level** (it is not a question of creating a new system, but restoring the old, multilevel system of the "social contract" along the lines of the traditional, and already not only entirely lost, but also long-forgotten, Russian Zemstvo [elective local rural council of the period 1864-1917]. The traditional and quintessentially *Russian* [russkaya] idea of *sobornost* [communal discussion leading to formulation of common collective view] (which might be defined as a form of agreeing the adoption of administrative decisions [vlastnyye resheniya] that is democratic, but at the same time stands outside the democratic framework) is explained and given concrete form in the KRO's policy statements as a procedure of "contractual partnership" at all levels (between entrepreneurs, hired workers, the executive organs, and so forth). The ideal model for the organization of state power, in the opinion of the KRO's ideologues, is a noncorrupt executive hierarchy that is accountable to society with the all-important head of state as its fulcrum.

In view of these, the bloc's fundamental tenets, the ostentatiously confrontational stance taken by the bloc's leaders vis-a-vis the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] movement, expresses not so much the civilized oppositionism of the Congress of Russian Communities, as the KRO's aim of completely ousting the NDR from the executive structures at all levels and thrusting it back into the sphere from which the latter movement emerged — namely, the sphere of defending the interests of the monopoly sectors, banking structures, and entrepreneurs who have benefited economically from liberal reform. At the same time, it is a question only of ousting the NDR, and no more than that, since it is most likely precisely on the basis of the profits of these new structures that the KRO proposes to carry out a *nationally oriented counterreform.*

**Third, through regenerating the Russian [russkiy] people**, in the political, demographic, and spiritual sense alike. Here the bloc's ideologues link their ideas of a Russian national revival to a program of resolving interethnic problems on the basis of restoring the mechanism, traditional for Russia, by which national minorities delegate to representatives of the titular nation the right to defend their own interests and endow the latter with the traditional status of "responsible service." There is simply no other solution. Otherwise we will see the "Chechenization" of the national republics.

The leading troika, as has already been noted in previous articles, is represented by quite popular figures from the ranks of "ex-men": Sergey Skokov, ex-chairman of the Security Council, who, as is well known, left this post owing to disagreement with the president over the events of October 1993; Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, ex-commander of the 14th Army, who also resigned his post as a result of disagreements with the Russian Federation minister of defense; and Sergey Glazyev, the ex-leader of the foreign economic policy department, who has his own economic program, definitely opposed to the government's (and which was recently, although not unconditionally, supported by a number of leading academics and economists — A. Abalkin, S. Shatalin, S. Sitaryan, and others).

The parties and movements officially composing the KRO include: the Democratic Party of Russia (Glazyev), the Socialist Party of the Working People (Vartazarova), the Congress of Russian Communities [this is a movement with the same name as, the KRO and which formed in April the nucleus of the present-day KRO] (Rogozin); the Servicemen's Independent Trade Unions (Kolchev); and also several other smaller trade union and Cossack organizations. Worth mentioning among the other well-known political figures belonging to the KRO are State Duma deputy and entrepreneur Konstantin Zatulin and ex-justice minister Yuriy Kalmykov.

In addition, special mention should be made of the bloc's specially formed support organizations (set up when the election campaign process was already under way), in particular, the "Honor and Motherland" movement, established 15 October (initiated by the KRO; elected chairman, A. Lebed), to which belong the most diverse servicemen's organizations, including representatives of the Veterans' Association of the "Alpha," "Vityaz," and Vympel" special subunits and of a number of military high schools and academies, including the General Staff Academy, foremost among whose representatives is Colonel General I. Rodionov, chief of the General Staff Academy, who has been elected to the movement's council (and under whose leadership A. Lebed took part in the events in Tbilisi in 1989).

The bloc's slogans, mottoes, and appeals are not very flashy, but by and large respond to the current mood and expectations of the electorate: "We Are Going To Rule According to the Law and Our Consciences!" "Russians, Unite!" "We Are at a Dangerous Juncture!" "No One But Us!" [the Russian for "but" here is printed as "KROme," punning on the movement's name] "Join Us!"

The movement's real membership figures are not known. As in any other movement, the membership is not recorded, and, according to the KRO policy documents, it "unites Russia's patriots." According to the statements of the movement's leaders, it already has around 90 regional departments, 30 percent of which were set up on the basis of S. Glazyev's Democratic Party of Russia. The federal list of State Duma candidates consists of 266 people, and a further 140 candidates will run for the KRO in single-seat electoral districts.

The KRO's electorate, despite the bloc's popularity, is effectively still in the process of forming, and is as yet considerably indistinct and obscure. According to the bloc's leaders, its supporters are "moderate centrists, and according to poll data, the regional elite, servicemen, and people from all social groups who are dissatisfied with current policy." The latter characteristic is extremely important, as election results will show.

Analysis of the KRO's official documents and appeals enables one to conclude that the fundamental principle of the bloc's activity in all areas of the election campaign is a healthy Russian [russkiy] nationalism, elevated to the virtue of patriotism. In view of the long-running frustration of the national self-consciousness of ethnic Russians and the Russian-speaking population, especially in Russia's national regions and the near abroad, this idea will undoubtedly find sympathy and be enthusiastically received by the Russian [Rossiyskiy] mass electorate. Being extremely topical, this idea, if implemented in a civilized manner, will, the KRO's leaders plan, make it possible to counter the unbridled nationalism of the regions with healthy Russian [Rossiyskiy] nationalism [the point of the careful distinction between the two words for "Russian" here is to show that "civilized" nationalism is patriotic].

The KRO has no representatives from the major banking structures on its federal list of candidates, but, according to certain fairly well-founded information, it enjoys the support of the Tver Universal Bank, Unikombank, and the Credit Bank. As the bloc's popularity and its chances of success grow, material support will undoubtedly increase. At the present time the movement's principal financial backing comes from the Federation of Russian Commodity Producers, led by Yu. Skokov, and also K. Zatulin's "Entrepreneurs for a New Russia" movement.

In the opinion of the KRO's leaders, a good voter turnout will give them around 15-20 percent of the vote. Independent experts (according to an appraisal of the situation as of the end of October) believe that (depending on the success of the campaign itself and other factors) it could indeed poll 15-20 percent, plus or minus 5 percent.

However, the list of facts and figures cited above constitutes undoubtedly important, but only purely statistical, characteristics.

### What Are the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Congress of Russian Peoples?

The KRO is the most powerful voice of the national-patriotic idea, the concept that is most fully in tune with the current state of public awareness. Moreover, it is thanks to this idea, manifested by the charismatic A. Lebed, that their potential electorate could substantially increase (in all strata of society) by December.

This idea is not new, and was first enshrined in a positive sense (as opposed to the way in which it was earlier espoused by the National Salvation Front and the LDPR) at the basis of the KRO's namesake (the Congress of Russian Communities), a public organization set up three years ago by Dmitriy Rogozin, which aimed to coordinate efforts to defend the civil rights of ethnic Russians and the Russian-speaking population in the countries of the near abroad. Subsequently, it was this aspect of the KRO's ideology which prompted Konstantin Zatulin, whose political activity in recent years has been bound up with positing the problem of Russians as a "divided nation" (with the corresponding Balkan analogies), to join the movement.

A. Lebed's affiliation to the movement has made the Russian idea enormously attractive in the eyes of the public. This idea is indirectly supported by A. Lebed's service record, which includes Afghanistan, Baku, Tbilisi, Baku again, and Tiraspol, thereby emphasizing how much bloodshed the further partition of Russian statehood on national "republic" lines could entail. The Chechen war, which threatens to cross into neighboring Ingushetia and become the catalyst for the resumption of the Ossetian and Abkhaz conflicts, will objectively (right up to December) facilitate the growth of the KRO's potential electorate.

The oppositionism of the bloc's leaders is even too premeditated, which prompts some analysts to advance theories of its being somewhat "pre-programmed." However, in our opinion, such theories have no real basis. It is simply that the stance of a movement which is not fighting for power, but which initially creates its own model for the exercise of power; which does not harp on individual manifestations of discontent, but which draws support from the dissatisfaction of the mass of Russians with the existing system of exercising power as a whole; which organizes not in order to attack the system of statehood with the aim of modernizing or modifying it, but in order to form a new system on an intrinsically new basis; is as yet too new and unfamiliar for our country's analytical services.

At the present time, in its leaders, the bloc possesses a tactically successful, albeit considerably contradictory, combination of personal and organizational possibilities.

The apparent grayness of Yuriy Skokov, despite the persistent, but unproductive, attempts of the image makers and speech writers to "hype" him, is compensated for by the vim and vigor of Konstantin Zatulin and the intellectual attractiveness of Lyudmila Vartazarova. And Aleksandr Lebed's gloomy taciturnity, now and then broken by his trenchant aphorisms, successfully contrasts with Sergey Glazyev's jargon-laden patter. The lawyer Yuriy Kalmykov, strange as it may seem, combines excellently with former "Alpha" commander Sergey Goncharov. Overall, the bloc gives the impression of being a broad cross-section, and even a universal synthesis, of society as a whole.

Each of the people mentioned above brought with him a certain political experience and organizational abilities: Skokov — contacts in the upper echelons of state power and the president's immediate entourage; Lebed — popularity in the troops and the broad masses; Glazyev - the Democratic Party of Russia's local departments, on the basis of whose activists the Congress easily managed to collect signatures for its federal list, and also the bloc's economic program and contacts among major representatives of the intellectual elite.

The KRO's great diversity, which even borders somewhat on heterodoxy, testifies to the strength of the ideas which it exploits, and, on the other hand, infinitely expands the bounds of the KRO's electorate and allows the movement to count on the votes of representatives of the most diverse social groups, from sincere supporters of Gen. A. Lebed's strong-arm methods in the military, work, and pension spheres, to cautious supporters of Yu. Skokov's "civilized nationalism," D. Rogozin's "great power [derzhavnyy] expansionism," and S. Glazyev's "pragmatic patriotism" in the nomenklatura, intellectual, and scientific spheres.

Also significant is the fact that, despite the oppositionism to the "ruling party" which is constantly proclaimed by its representatives, and the biting criticism of the ruling party's policies (Yu. Skokov: "The current authorities, in creating their party, cynically declare to society: "Russia is not your home, but ours"), the Congress of Russian Communities does not provoke any negative emotions either in the Russian Federation president or his closest advisers (to whom the KRO leader himself belonged not so long ago). By and large this is not actually surprising, since the executive structure centered round the president (the Presidential Staff, the Presidential Aides Service, the Presidential Security Service, the Security Council, the power ministers, and so forth) in no way identify with Viktor Chernomyrdin's NDR. And although the president's illness has substantially modified the balance of forces, no one has yet repudiated Boris Yeltsin's last interview before he left for the United States, in which he once more absolutely unambiguously confirmed the fact that he still sees Yuriy Skokov as a realistic contender for the premier's job.

The manifest interest being shown in Yuriy Skokov by the superpowers today also attests to his potential prospects in the event of the movement's achieving even a relative victory in the elections. In the past two months alone (not having taken part in a single official visit since leaving the post of secretary to the

Security Council) he visited the United States, then China; moreover, in both cases his trip took place against the background of preparation for official visits by the Russian Federation president to these countries. It should be noted in particular that any visit to China, where there are still no nonstate public organizations or organizations independent of the Chinese Communist Party, cannot be unofficial, and always requires the agreement of both sides.

The KRO's standing at the concluding (effectively purely campaigning) stage of the election campaign is strengthened by its conceptual originality (something of which the majority of other blocs cannot boast) and the character and simplicity of its slogans, which at the same time do not reach the level of clamorous intolerance. Thus the electorate is presented with people who respect the "rules of the game," who are ready, in Lebed's phrase, first to carry out orders, and only then dispute their legality. With this serene confidence the bloc partly rids the idea of "strong-power nationalism" of those politicians parasitizing on that idea (V. Zhirinovskiy and his ilk) and the extremist radicals (such as A. Sterligov's and V. Achalov's "Union of Patriots").

The movement's election platform — for all the drawbacks mentioned above and even the dubiousness of the fresh historical prospects of the ideas of sobornost — is sufficiently well balanced and logical.

The state-economic section of this platform includes: overcoming the crisis in the state system and strengthening the state; a real reform of the Army; a regulated market; defending Russian producers; and the social support of the economically least protected groups of the population. The solution of the question of the private ownership of land, to judge by interviews with the bloc's leaders, is entirely justly linked to the problem of the rights (or to be more exact, the reorganization) of the federation components and their responsibility before the federal authorities.

S. Glazyev's much-trumpeted economic program requires separate analysis. There are two "hobby horses" in its range of proposals on the most diverse economic questions: These are the reform of the taxation system and the implementation of an industrial policy. Hence it may be assumed that S. Glazyev will start his activity with these ideas in the event that the bloc is elevated to the structures of power.

Taxation reform, Glazyev-style, presupposes a substantial change in the existing system, in particular, shifting the emphasis away from traditional taxes (income tax, profits tax, and, possibly, VAT) toward rental payments and taxation of resources. In view of the fact that Russia is distinguished precisely by a powerful energy and raw materials complex, this mechanism might, in principle, solve many tax problems, since the major load would be borne by those who genuinely have the ability to pay (and, at the same time, this would ease the tax burden on other sectors, and would also allow some respite for the converted and unconverted defense industry close to the bloc's heart).

By and large, the viability of the approach cited above is not denied even by certain other politicians and political structures. Changing tax legislation, and even the principles underlying it, has long been overdue. However, there are also problems. And the major one is the riskiness of "changing horses in midstream." Switching from one tax system to another (given the level of competence, industry, and accountability of the state bureaucratic apparatus that we have today) would, with a high degree of probability, lead at the initial (relatively lengthy) stage to a substantial reduction in income, which would at once bring about an increase in the budget deficit and a new (quite large) upsurge in inflation.

The situation as regards industrial policy is in many ways similar. The idea of supporting the advanced sectors of the economy (especially those undergoing conversion) cannot but invite approval. But the question (backed up by many examples) is, whether state funds would reach the areas in which they were targeted, or whether they would be dispersed, and sometimes simply stolen or squandered, as has already happened repeatedly. In the latter case, instead of a radical structural overhaul, we would once again have an increase in inflation. Thus, from the point of view of the economy, were the KRO to come to power, three scenarios are possible. The first (in our opinion, the least probable) is the successful implementation of a new tax policy and the effective execution of an industrial policy. In this case, the country could expect a relatively rapid economic upturn along with the resolution of many social problems. The second (on the whole, just as improbable) is that, despite the lack of success of the steps mentioned above, the KRO stubbornly persists in carrying out its version of reform policy. In this event, the country would rapidly move into a state of hyperinflation, which would completely destroy the economy and the social sphere, and it would find itself on the brink of a social explosion. The third (and most probable) scenario: After a few cautious attempts to carry out its original version of reform, the KRO returns to the positions of the present government. This volte- face would most likely provoke a split in the movement, and the country would suffer definite losses from the latest experimentation, including a growth of prices, with some erosion of the fuel and energy complex' status in favor of the military industrial complex. But, on the whole, movement toward stabilization of the economy would not be undermined in this case. A synopsis of the political and ideological section includes: the Russian idea and the defense of the rights of the Russian-speaking population, including beyond the CIS' borders; a political, rather than an ideological, union of the former Soviet republics; political partnership with the most diverse state-oriented parties and movements ("regardless of who you are — a democrat, a communist, or a socialist"); and the elaboration of the principles of a new national policy. It is highly characteristic that at the same time the bloc's leaders declare that "the KRO is not bound by any party or ideological archetypes." which, of course, must be taken with a pinch of salt.

The possibility, which has been actively discussed in recent times, that the KRO and CPRF might coordinate their election policy and operations unambiguously attests on the one hand to the presence of certain "archetypes" kindred to the KRO, and on the other, suggests the weakness of a movement (typical of any alliance) that seeks by any means to exploit its opportunity, and, third, allows us to predict yet another dramatic change (the second since the president's illness) in the balance of forces, on the very eve of the elections.

The bloc's stance on the Chechen problem is couched in cautious terms. Categorically rejecting coercive measures, Yuriy Skokov characterizes the current situation as follows: If you agree that Chechnya is a sovereign state, it must be acknowledged that illegal combat operations have been conducted on its territory; if, on the other hand, you acknowledge the presence of bandit formations, then the army operation aimed at destroying them was entirely justified (which was confirmed by the ruling of the Constitutional Court); but at the same time the bloc's leader asks a new question: "With whom is the government negotiating and signing agreements?"

What is the KRO's main weakness? Above all, it is as yet all too obviously molded by the present situation. Having managed to unite at the election stage (on the basis, undoubtedly, of the successful and topical national-patriotic idea spearheaded by Lebed) the most ideologically disparate forces and even personalities, the KRO is susceptible to the same ailment which could conditionally be called the "Democratic Russia" syndrome (let us recall that the eponymous movement, which rapidly united — on the basis of anticommunist ideas — like-minded individuals in the struggle for power, on coming to power at once began to split into factions). Such an outcome is also possible for the KRO, among whose leaders there are at least two contenders for the post of premier (Skokov and Glazyev), and, possibly, the same number for the post of president (Lebed and Skokov), especially since their true ambitions have not yet been tested by real state power and responsibility. Some experts are voicing the opinion that Yu. Skokov, despite his political experience and bureaucratic frame of mind, will scarcely have sufficient political foresight to remain, after the (as yet hypothetical) successes masterminded by himself, at the level which only A. Lebed can rise above.

Second, for all the progressive growth in the KRO's popularity, it must be borne in mind that to a significant degree this is connected not with the bloc itself, and not even with the bloc's ideas — which, though topical, have so far been little emphasized by the body social — but exclusively with A. Lebed's personal image, or to be even more precise, with his archetypal identification with the contemporary Russian mentality, and, as a consequence, the mass media's purely emotional (and objectively speaking, so far largely unsubjected to rational argument) love for him. As already noted, even the attempt to "hype" Yu. Skokov in the context offered by this favorable pairing has so far met with little success. In many ways the qualitative composition of the KRO's federal list of candidates can be described in similar terms. With the exception of the few people mentioned above, they are mostly little known, or else entirely unknown individuals, who have left no mark in the field of state affairs. And, in the event of the bloc's succeeding, the future government could prove — from the point of view of state administration — just as unprofessional as the present government. This is both surprising and worrying.

Therefore, the result of December's elections could be that the KRO will repeat the "LDPR phenomenon" of 1993, when, thanks to the colorful figure of V. Zhirinovskiy, his movement achieved excellent results on the party lists, but, because of the personal unpopularity of the candidates, met with total failure in the single-seat districts. Is the "political steamship" of A. Lebed's charisma powerful enough for him to drag a sufficient number of KRO "congressmen" into the Duma? The stern general is scarcely prepared for the role of carny barker, which Zhirinovskiy at one time played with such success in several languages at once.

The bloc has yet to create its own, sufficiently developed, structures across the country, and the previously galvanized regional structures of the Democratic Party of Russia, which proved sufficient for the signature-collection stage, will hardly be adequate to the tasks of sound election canvassing and propaganda.

Despite the popularity of A. Lebed, the bloc's leader is still Yu. Skokov, but he (like Lebed too, however) is seen as a strong figure only potentially. And here it is probably appropriate to cite the colorful comparisons that have been suggested with regard to Yu. Skokov, which often provide far more information than rationally corroborated facts and figures. Certain people compare the "hyping" of his personal image with the publicity for the unsinkable [battleship] Tirpitz while it stood in the docks, whose fate when it put to sea is well known; others call him a sort of "civilized Zhirinovskiy," from whom many people expected much at one time, but in the upshot found that they had been "taken for a ride"; still others recall the well-known advertising device in which a young man regularly appeared on the screen and significantly promised "to tell the whole story later." He did say something or other later, but just what, no one can recall...

Summarizing all the above, it is possible to conclude that, although the bloc provokes extremely contradictory feelings and evaluations, the Congress of Russian Communities should have no problems in getting into the Sixth State Duma. It is entirely possible that the Congress will even constitute one of the most powerful factions in the future Duma, especially in the event of an alliance with the CPRF. But whether it will become the new favorite (undoubtedly aspiring to replace the democrats in this role), or whether we will have to admit that once again we had to do with a "nine-day wonder" is still debatable. The Congress' main problems, which are connected with its actual coming to power, the conflicting aims of its leaders, and the inevitable friction between their political ambitions, will most likely begin after the Duma elections, and will hardly allow this political force to remain monolithic right up to the presidential elections in the summer of 1996.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 24 Nov

*LD2411064895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0623 GMT 24 Nov 95*

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW November 24 (Itar-Tass) — Today's Moscow-based newspapers highlight the formcoming elections to the State Duma, the Lower House of Russian parliament, due to be held on December 17, and the future of ex-Yugoslav repubics following the achievement of Bosnia peace accords in Dayton on November 22.

IZVESTIYA, in an article headlined "Politicians have learned to present themselves", describes how political blocs and parties, which intend to participate in the polling, use TV advertising clips.

IZVESTIYA on Russian Premier Victor Chernomyrdin's trip to St.Petersburg.

Officially the trip is resignated as a "planned working pne". "But the disguising of the true aims of the visit can hardly delude anyone. Vote-hunting is a legitimate pursuit," the writer of the article points out.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the election-campaign publicity clips.

The writer of an article to this effect wonders how "those who seek our trust esteem us who watch them."

IZVESTIYA on the suspension of sanctions against Belgrade.

The newspaper believes that "to the satisfaction of Russians, the suspension of sanctions against Belgrade does not mean that Moscow should immediately begin to repay the debt, which has accrued since Soviet times, to the Yugoslavs. The U.N. resolution text contains a provision which stipulates that debtor countries will start to repay the debts only after ex-Yugoslav republics agree among themselves on the division of the debt."

"It can be supposed that a solution to the issue will drag out for years, considering the current far-from-being-cordial relations between Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia."

IZVESTIYA on the situation in Chechnya.

The newspaper maintains that "the real power of Federal troops ends at a distance of only several tens of kilometres south of Groznyy. Formally, those areas remain under Moscow's control, and one can still see the positions of Federal troops at some distance from populated areas.

"However, there are posts of self-defence detachments at the entrance to all the villages, with the militants themselves not concealing at all that they obey Dzhokhar Dudayev."

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on Central Bank chief Sergey Dubinin.

"A cautious pragmatic has assumed the office of the country's chief banker. About-faces in the policy of the Central Bank are unlikely".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on the situation in Moscow.

Two mines planted by terrorists were rendered harmless in the capital on Tuesday. The writer of an item to this effect wonders whether that was a chance occurrence.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries answers given by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to provincial pressmen's quesitons, most of which dealt with the situaion in Chechnya. The Premier believes that the sources of the tragedy "should be sought in 1991 when adventurers came to power in Chechnya."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports that FIDE President Florencio Campomanes has agreed to resign only if he will be succeded by Kalmyk President Kirsan Ilyumzhanov. Thus, for the first time in the history of FIDE, a Russian representative may be elected to head it.

TRUD carries an interview with Lieutenant-General Vladimir Tsekhanov, Head of the Economic Counterintelligence Directorate of the Federal Security Service.

Tsekhanov believes that the hardest battles on the invisible front are being fought in the economic sphere. "Russian Counterintelligence conducts large-scale secret operations and takes special measures to ensure the State's economic security, a threat to which has become quite real."

## Reportage on Bosnia Peace Talks, UNSC Decision

### Yeltsin May Lift Sanctions on Yugoslavia

*LD2211144695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1353 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin will rescind his decree imposing sanctions on Yugoslavia if the U.N. Security Council suspends international sanctions against Belgrade, a high-ranking Russian diplomat said.

"Everything will be brought in line with present-day realities," said Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Afanasyevskiy in an interview with Interfax Wednesday.

International sanctions on Belgrade were imposed by the U.N. Security Council on May 30, 1992, to punish it for supporting Bosnian Serbs.

The council is expected to lift them now that the leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia have come to a consensus on a negotiated settlement in the region at their proximity talks in Dayton, Ohio.

Acting on behalf of the five-nation Contact Group (which includes Russia, the U.S., Britain, France and Germany), the U.S. and Germany have submitted to the U.N. Security Council a proposal to suspend sanctions against Belgrade, a proposal which has been repeatedly put forward by Russia.

Afanasyevskiy welcomed the Dayton agreements, which became possible due to the coordinated efforts of Russia, the U.S. and other Contact Group members, and the European Union.

He noted that the fact that Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a special statement immediately after the signing of the agreement in Dayton, highlighting the importance that Russia attaches to this event.

"The agreement on the package of peace accords is a big step towards a comprehensive settlement of the most tragic conflict in post-war Europe," the statement said.

Afanasyevskiy stressed that Russia's proposal to hold a summit meeting of the leaders of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia in Moscow under the Russian president's aegis remains valid.

"I am convinced that the Moscow meeting to be held in the 'three plus one' format will become one of the crucial stages in the settlement of this conflict," adding that "the settlement does not end in Dayton."

Commenting on the Dayton accords after their initialling, Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, who attended the peace talks on Bosnia, said they were not perfect. "But this is what can be realistically achieved in these conditions," he said.

### Medvedev Issues Statement on Decision

*LD2311223295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2001 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 23 (Itar-Tass) — The U.N. Security Council [UNSC] has made the decision which relieves the former Yugoslavia of the burden of the economic sanctions, says the statement by the Russian president's press secretary Sergey Medvedev.

The statement, dispatched to Itar-Tass today, says the suspension of the sanctions marks Russia's reaching its goal, previously reiterated by President Boris Yeltsin, of bringing down the obstacles to resumption of its broad cooperation with the former Yugoslavia.

"It is important that this has been done not through unilateral actions but on the basis of the adopted joint plan of the Contact Group, of the unanimous decision of the Security Council," the statement says.

"This opens a new page in the peace process in the Balkans — the wall of international isolation which was built around the Union Republic of Yugoslavia begins to collapse," the statement continues.

The Security Council has passed a resolution on phasing out the military embargo against all republics of the former Yugoslavia and all Bosnian parties, Medvedev said.

The statement says it was Russia's determined stance that had altered the initial approach to the Balkan conflict — discrimination against Bosnian Serbs and uncontrolled resumption of arm supplies to the conflict region.

On Russia's insistence the resolution mandates an even-handed approach to all the parties and, importantly, the gradual lifting of the military embargo, Medvedev said.

However, Russia has abstained from voting for the resolution because of its obvious drawbacks, he added.

The statement says this met with an understanding from the U.N.

Russia's abstention reflects its responsibility for the fate of the Balkans and serious concern about dangerous implications of uncontrollable developments in the region, Medvedev said.

### UN Suspension of Sanctions 'Belated'

*LD2311080095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0750 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Boris Sitnikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] UNITED NATIONS November 23 (Itar-Tass) — The U.N. Security Council, at its meeting on Wednesday [22 November] night, unanimously passed a resolution on complete and indefinite suspension of economic sanctions against the United Republic of Yugoslavia (URY) and the Bosnia Serbs.

The Council resolved that the sanctions against the URY are suspended with immediate effect. It made a proviso that if the URY does not sign the peace accords by a date fixed by the Contact Group while the other parties will agree to sign it, the sanctions would be reapplied automatically on the fifth day after notifying the U.N. Secretary-General.

The Security Council resolved that sanctions against the Bosnia Serbs would be fully suspended only after the Commander of the International Force notifies that all Bosnia Serb forces have been withdrawn from the disengagement areas.

The Council resolved that it would lift all sanctions against the URY and the Bosnia Serbs on the tenth day after the first free and fair elections are held in Bosnia and provided the Bosnia Serb forces are withdrawn from the disengagement areas.

Sergey Lavrov, Permanent Representative of Russia at the U.N., when explaining the vote at the Council meeting, described the resolution as "an exceptionally important step, albeit a belated one."

"We are still convinced that conditions for a final lifting of the sanctions have long been created when the requirements of Resolution 757 were complied with and when Belgrade actively joined in the Contact Group efforts to settle the Bosnia conflict," the Russian representative pointed out.

Welcoming the initialing of a package of Bosnia peace accords in Dayton by the parties involved in the Bosnia conflict, Lavrov recalled that the Russian side had reservations about their provisions concerning the military aspect.

"Russia still has serious doubts about this aspect, specifically the lack of the necessary political control on the part of the U.N. Security Council over a military operation," the Russian representative said.

"As an active participant in the negotiations in Dayton, Russia intends to continue to promote the peace process and will be prepared to carry on the discussion of the military aspect of the settlement at both multilateral and bilateral levels," Lavrov emphasised.

### Karasin Interviewed on Arms Embargo

*LD2311131695 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] "We did not like the idea of lifting the embargo on the delivery of arms to former Yugoslavia from the very beginning, because we fear the conflicting sides will increase their amounts of weapons," Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Foreign Ministry's press department, said in an interview with Ekho Moskvy.

Karasin said that Russia decided to abstain in voting in the UN Security Council on the issue of lifting economic sanctions and removing the embargo on supplying arms to former Yugoslavia because all the documents had the nature of a package.

"Without a decision on lifting the embargo it would have been impossible to sign the whole package of agreements. We deliberately abstained in voting, bearing in mind that Russia as one of the particicpants in the negotiating process is responsible for the peace process moving forward," Karasin reported.

### Karasin Hails 'Major Step' in Settlement

*LD2311155795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Vladimir Suprun]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW November 23 (Itar-Tass) — Grigoriy Karasin, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman, addressing a briefing here, described the initialing in Dayton, the United States, of a package of documents on the peace settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the parties to the conflict as a major step in overcoming the crisis in former Yugoslavia. He commented the role of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and the European Union in this process. He said they performed considerable work acting within the Contact Group.

The Russian Foreign Ministry Spokesman gave due to "a sense of realism and lofty responsibility to their peoples shown by leaders of the states that participated in the conflict. They mustered resources and courage to make the right choice in favour of peace." It is important that the sides should sign the agreements without delay and begin implementing them in earnest.

Karasin admitted that a complicated process of the implementation of peace agreements whose ultimate pa-

[Kozyrev] Well, it's very hard to say. I would not want to make any guesses here. We have to see the situation. An international tribunal has been set up. This international tribunal is collecting information and is examining the facts. It is quite an impartial body. It will probably pass verdicts, it will pass judgements, not only on them but also on Croatian generals and Muslim generals, for example.

[Dorenko] Milosevic has an interest in getting rid of Karadzic and Mladic.

[Kozyrev] I cannot tell you anything about that. What I can say is that we all have an interest in insuring that as the peace comes in, so should justice as well.

[Dorenko] Do you still have any mechanisms for exerting pressure on Serbia? There is one point of view, one interpretation, that hapless and persecuted Serbia was given refuge here and has been crying on our shoulder. But when there are investments from Americans and Germans, when there is peace, then what is needed is realistic development, not the idea of Slavonic fraternity. Then, of course, it is first of all Germany and the United States that count, because they have money. And then Russia's influence will cease.

[Kozyrev] That is actually a very correct interpretation. And this very day I, as foreign minister, am busy sending letters to all our government departments and we shall be submitting proposals to the president, to the effect that from this very day, our government departments, economic, commercial, our entire government, all our entrepreneurial circles should get their skates on, so to speak, and should do what we all want. Now is absolutely the right moment to get all our fraternal feelings realized in economic interests, and not to be late in doing so, either.

[Dorenko] We are missing the boat!

[Kozyrev] It is a great pity! For my part, I can say that I shall do everything possible, and the thing is that right now, we have marvelous political opportunities. [end recording]

[Dorenko, in studio] Hence the conclusion: if Kozyrev had $3 billion in investment to promise the Serbs, and another billion for the Croats and Muslims, and a strong economy controlled by Russia — then it would not be Russia at all! As a former dialectical materialist, I reckon that while there is no money, there is no point in talking about a leading role in diplomacy. And where is the money to come from all at once? All the best to you!

## Deputy Foreign Minister Views Sanctions

*LD2311120695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1004 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 23 (Interfax) — The international anti-Belgrade sanctions will be fully lifted when Bosnia has held parliamentary elections, Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said Thursday morning at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 airport. Ivanov represented Russia at Dayton, Ohio, where a solution for the Bosnian conflict was negotiated. Bosnian parliamentary elections are to be held in six months from now.

Ivanov, who took a 10-hour flight from New York to Moscow, hoped the U.N. Security Council had already made a decision on the indefinitely long suspension of the anti-Yugoslav sanctions which became possible now that the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian leaders had initialed a package of peace documents, Ivanov said in reference to a peace agreement and 11 rider documents on the territorial division of and constitutional order in Bosnia, the repatriation of refugees, Bosnian elections and other issues.

According to Ivanov, Russia appreciates the results of the Dayton negotiations but takes "a realistic view" of the developments.

"All those who initialed the Dayton agreements showed the same degree of dissatisfaction with the final documents," Ivanov said.

The Bosnian Serb community was represented by a joint delegation under Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. It failed to voice blanket approval of the plan for the territorial division of Bosnia and the mechanism for the realization of the military agreements. Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman voiced some objections, too, but, Ivanov said, "the same degree of dissatisfaction is what makes compromise."

Ivanov confirmed that the Dayton agreements would be signed in the first ten days of next month in Paris, after which a conference of Foreign Ministers will be held in London.

Other sources inside the Russian delegation to Dayton told Interfax that the Paris conference would be held on either December 4 or December 6, and the London forum, on either December 8 or December 9.

Once the Paris and London conferences are held, the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian leaders will be expected to meet under the auspices of Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. This is what all of them agreed to do, Ivanov said, and Moscow will see a three-plus-one

### UN Suspension of Sanctions 'Belated'

*LD2311080095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0750 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Boris Sitnikov]

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The Council resolved that the sanctions against the URY are suspended with immediate effect. It made a proviso that if the URY does not sign the peace accords by a date fixed by the Contact Group while the other parties will agree to sign it, the sanctions would be reapplied automatically on the fifth day after notifying the U.N. Secretary-General.

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Sergey Lavrov, Permanent Representative of Russia at the U.N., when explaining the vote at the Council meeting, described the resolution as "an exceptionally important step, albeit a belated one."

"We are still convinced that conditions for a final lifting of the sanctions have long been created when the requirements of Resolution 757 were complied with and when Belgrade actively joined in the Contact Group efforts to settle the Bosnia conflict," the Russian representative pointed out.

Welcoming the initialing of a package of Bosnia peace accords in Dayton by the parties involved in the Bosnia conflict, Lavrov recalled that the Russian side had reservations about their provisions concerning the military aspect.

"Russia still has serious doubts about this aspect, specifically the lack of the necessary political control on the part of the U.N. Security Council over a military operation," the Russian representative said.

"As an active participant in the negotiations in Dayton, Russia intends to continue to promote the peace process and will be prepared to carry on the discussion of the military aspect of the settlement at both multilateral and bilateral levels," Lavrov emphasised.

### Karasin Interviewed on Arms Embargo

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Karasin said that Russia decided to abstain in voting in the UN Security Council on the issue of lifting economic sanctions and removing the embargo on supplying arms to former Yugoslavia because all the documents had the nature of a package.

"Without a decision on lifting the embargo it would have been impossible to sign the whole package of agreements. We deliberately abstained in voting, bearing in mind that Russia as one of the particicpants in the negotiating process is responsible for the peace process moving forward," Karasin reported.

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The Russian Foreign Ministry Spokesman gave due to "a sense of realism and lofty responsibility to their peoples shown by leaders of the states that participated in the conflict. They mustered resources and courage to make the right choice in favour of peace." It is important that the sides should sign the agreements without delay and begin implementing them in earnest.

Karasin admitted that a complicated process of the implementation of peace agreements whose ultimate parameters are being specified is ahead. He said the Russian side reserved its stance on military implementation of the agreements when they were being initialed. Russia has "serious doubts" about the matter, which are connected, specifically, with the lack of political control by the U.N. Security Council over the military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Karasin said.

### Kozyrev Comments on Sanctions

*LD2411095795 Moscow NTV in Russian*
*2120 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by program announcer Sergey Dorenko, in Kozyrev's office on 23 November — recorded, with announcer's introduction and closing comments live in the studio; from the "Versions" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Dorenko, in studio] Quite late this evening we visited Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in his office. He told us the about the parameters of the peace accord in Yugoslavia:

[Begin recording] [Dorenko] Which sanctions are being lifted immediately, and which will be lifted only six months after elections in Bosnia?

[Kozyrev] What is happening is that all economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, against the new Yugoslavia, that is, are being suspended. They may be reimposed only if there is another radical turn toward war, some flare-up of the war, or if Belgrade itself — the new Yugoslavia, that is — embarks on the path of war. This is almost unthinkable, though.

As for the embargo on arms supplies, this is being lifted against all the republics. It should be remembered in mind here that the first three months are essentially a trial period. Nothing at all will go through. Then the embargo will be lifted gradually on certain types of weapons, mainly light arms. Only after that will the restrictions be lifted on supplies of heavy weapons — but this will be within the framework of agreements which should by that time have been reached by the parties on setting specific weapons ceilings for each of them.

Furthermore, and we are now on the last stage of this, we have managed to get a provision included in the resolution whereby the [UN] Security Council will at each stage monitor the progress of this process of arms supplies — all of this will be under the control of the Security Council. This was our main idea. At one stage we even said we would not allow this resolution to go through at all, we threatened to use our power of veto. Only after the Security Council control mechanism was introduced, in addition to provisions for the process to take place in stages, did we decide it was better to abstain. All the more so because yesterday evening, for instance, I received a telephone call from Belgrade, from the foreign minister of Yugoslavia, asking us at the request of President [Slobodan] Milosevic and other Yugoslav leaders, to compromise and let the resolution through, and asking us to vote in favor of the resolution to lift the economic sanctions, but also asking us not to hinder the adoption of this resolution on the weapons embargo. This is partly because they need weapons, and partly, too, because this is a very difficult compromise: they get something and then the other side wants something, and so on and so forth. Given this request, I contacted the [Russian] president by telephone yesterday evening, and despite the late hour — decisions such as these, of course, are taken only by the president — I briefed him in detail on the line up of forces and all the circumstances. I also informed him that the resolution itself included a great many of the things we wanted, first and foremost UN Security Council control — that is, we are not losing control over this process. I informed him, too, of the Yugoslav request, to say nothing of the requests from all the other sides. He took the decision that we should let this resolution through and abstain.

In principle, I think that if one takes the whole as a package, this is of course a very big step in the right direction.

[Dorenko] And it was the Americans that did it.

[Kozyrev] We did it together. And the work I have just told you about on drawing up the resolution on lifting the embargo shows that we have been involved in bringing it all about. Of course, we could perhaps have postponed a little the part about the weapons, but given all the circumstances, we too must in certain cases make compromises.

I can tell you that the Americans have never alone — and they are very well aware of this... [Kozyrev pauses] Several times yesterday and nearly every day last week, I talked over the telephone with [U.S. Secretary of State Warren] Christopher and others involved in the settlement. None of us can do anything on our own.

[Dorenko] Three presidents shook hands in Dayton, but none of them shook hands with [Radovan] Karadzic and [Ratko] Mladic. What will happen to them? This is a bomb under [Slobodan] Milosevic, isn't it? Either of them, if he is not jailed first, could become the president of Yugoslavia at some time. They are political heroes for the Bosnia Serbs and for many Serbs but they have sort of been cut off and politically marginalized. They will come back, and they will be angry.

[Kozyrev] Well, it's very hard to say. I would not want to make any guesses here. We have to see the situation. An international tribunal has been set up. This international tribunal is collecting information and is examining the facts. It is quite an impartial body. It will probably pass verdicts, it will pass judgements, not only on them but also on Croatian generals and Muslim generals, for example.

[Dorenko] Milosevic has an interest in getting rid of Karadzic and Mladic.

[Kozyrev] I cannot tell you anything about that. What I can say is that we all have an interest in insuring that as the peace comes in, so should justice as well.

[Dorenko] Do you still have any mechanisms for exerting pressure on Serbia? There is one point of view, one interpretation, that hapless and persecuted Serbia was given refuge here and has been crying on our shoulder. But when there are investments from Americans and Germans, when there is peace, then what is needed is realistic development, not the idea of Slavonic fraternity. Then, of course, it is first of all Germany and the United States that count, because they have money. And then Russia's influence will cease.

[Kozyrev] That is actually a very correct interpretation. And this very day I, as foreign minister, am busy sending letters to all our government departments and we shall be submitting proposals to the president, to the effect that from this very day, our government departments, economic, commercial, our entire government, all our entrepreneurial circles should get their skates on, so to speak, and should do what we all want. Now is absolutely the right moment to get all our fraternal feelings realized in economic interests, and not to be late in doing so, either.

[Dorenko] We are missing the boat!

[Kozyrev] It is a great pity! For my part, I can say that I shall do everything possible, and the thing is that right now, we have marvelous political opportunities. [end recording]

[Dorenko, in studio] Hence the conclusion: if Kozyrev had $3 billion in investment to promise the Serbs, and another billion for the Croats and Muslims, and a strong economy controlled by Russia — then it would not be Russia at all! As a former dialectical materialist, I reckon that while there is no money, there is no point in talking about a leading role in diplomacy. And where is the money to come from all at once? All the best to you!

## Deputy Foreign Minister Views Sanctions

*LD2311120695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1004 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 23 (Interfax) — The international anti-Belgrade sanctions will be fully lifted when Bosnia has held parliamentary elections, Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said Thursday morning at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 airport. Ivanov represented Russia at Dayton, Ohio, where a solution for the Bosnian conflict was negotiated. Bosnian parliamentary elections are to be held in six months from now.

Ivanov, who took a 10-hour flight from New York to Moscow, hoped the U.N. Security Council had already made a decision on the indefinitely long suspension of the anti-Yugoslav sanctions which became possible now that the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian leaders had initialed a package of peace documents, Ivanov said in reference to a peace agreement and 11 rider documents on the territorial division of and constitutional order in Bosnia, the repatriation of refugees, Bosnian elections and other issues.

According to Ivanov, Russia appreciates the results of the Dayton negotiations but takes "a realistic view" of the developments.

"All those who initialed the Dayton agreements showed the same degree of dissatisfaction with the final documents," Ivanov said.

The Bosnian Serb community was represented by a joint delegation under Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. It failed to voice blanket approval of the plan for the territorial division of Bosnia and the mechanism for the realization of the military agreements. Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman voiced some objections, too, but, Ivanov said, "the same degree of dissatisfaction is what makes compromise."

Ivanov confirmed that the Dayton agreements would be signed in the first ten days of next month in Paris, after which a conference of Foreign Ministers will be held in London.

Other sources inside the Russian delegation to Dayton told Interfax that the Paris conference would be held on either December 4 or December 6, and the London forum, on either December 8 or December 9.

Once the Paris and London conferences are held, the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian leaders will be expected to meet under the auspices of Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. This is what all of them agreed to do, Ivanov said, and Moscow will see a three-plus-one meeting as an important step on the road for genuine peace on former Yugoslav territory.

Ivanov failed to say when the three Yugoslav leaders would be expected to meet in Moscow but did say that the Dayton process faced "firmly set deadlines and was to be completed in a matter of one year."

In Ivanov's view, Russia and other members of the Contact Group on Yugoslavia did much for the successful end of the Dayton negotiations, but a decision has yet to be made on its military involvement in efforts to enforce the Dayton agreements.

This is what the Russian and U.S. military are busy discussing at the moment, Ivanov said, and Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and his U.S. counterpart William Perry are due to meet to discuss this in Brussels before the end of this month.

For more details see Interfax' Diplomatic Panorama of November 23.

### ITAR-TASS Interviews Daughter of PRC's Deng Xiaoping

*LD2211135495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English*
*1249 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[By Andrey Kirillov and Viktor Khrekov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 22 (Itar-Tass) — Patriarch of the Chinese leadership Deng Xiaoping, 91, does not already play bridge but gives advice to his grandchildren during their card-gambling battles, Xiao Rong, the younger daughter of "the architect of Chinese reforms", who wrote the biographical book "My Father - Deng Xiaoping" under the pen name of Mao Mao, said in an interview with Itar-Tass in Moscow on Wednesday.

The launching of the Russian version of this book whose publication was sponsored by the Rossiyskiy Credit Bank, took place at Moscow's President Hotel on Tuesday evening.

Deng, his daughter said, also gave up another pleasant thing: a daily cup of strong and delicious vodka Maotai. Nevertheless, he drinks a pair of glasses of yellow Shaoxiang wine at dinner.

"Our family leads a patriarchal way of life. All of us live in Beijing at one home, and usually sixteen people belonging to four generations gather at two dinner tables," Xiao Rong noted.

According to the daughter, the Deng clan comes from the central Chinese province of Sichuan where people like piquant cuisine. "However, we also treat ourselves to dishes from other Chinese areas and foreign countries, including Russian borshch".

Xiao Rong said that "departing for Moscow this time, I, as we usually do on such occasions, asked a permission from my father. I shall report him the results of the trip on my return."

Speaking at the launching, Xiao Rong noted that her father lived in the Soviet Union in 1925. "However, this exerted strong influence on his entire revolutionary activities".

Then, Deng visited the USSR again, accompanying Mao Zedong for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution. "Political, economic and cultural relations between our countries have fully developed now.

"This fully meets the vital interests of China and Russia, the interests of the two nations, as well as the interests of peace in the Asia-Pacific regions and all over the world," Xiao Rong said.

Xiao came to the Russian capital on Monday afternoon. She told Itar-Tass back at the Beijing airport that reports about Deng's new hospitalisation and his deteriorating health, "are groundless".

### Vice Premier Ignatenko Meets With PRC Ambassador

*LD2411125695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English*
*1235 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 24 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Vice-Premier Vitaliy Ignatenko, who is also Director-General of the country's official news agency Itar-Tass, today met China's Ambassador in Russia Li Fenglin to brief him on the situation in Russia ahead of the parliamentary elections.

The Vice-Premier and the Ambassador also discussed the two countries' economic and social problems.

Li Fenglin became China's Ambassador in Russia last summer. His distinguishing characteristics are an open style of work and good command of the Russian language.

The Ambassador met the Russian Vice-Premier in his Itar-Tass office. He was accompanied by correspondents of the Chinese leading news agencies Xinhua.

### Border Patrol Fires Warning Shots at Japanese Boats

*LD2311064195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0631 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Larisa Beloyvan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VLADIVOSTOK November 23 (Itar-Tass) — A Russian border patrol boat opened demonstration fire in the area of the South Kuriles on Thursday.

In view of a concentration of about 60 Japanese fishing schooners in the area of Kunashir Strait near the edge of the State sea frontier early on Thursday morning, the patrol boat Bug of the Pacific District opened demonstration fire along the edge of territorial waters in order to warn the schooners against crossing the border, a spokesman at the Pacific Border District Board has told Itar-Tass.

The actions of the Russian ship were aimed exclusively at issuing a warning. The taking of accidental hits by the concentrated Japanese ships was ruled out, the spokesman emphasised.

### Ukraine's Lazarenko Concludes 'Strange Visit'

*MK2411135795 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 2*

[Report by Viktor Timoshenko: "Visit Sparks Many Rumors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "strange visit" of the Ukrainian delegation to Moscow led by Ukraine's First Deputy Premier Pavlo Lazarenko is over. The visit was officially described as a "working" visit, but a day before it started, no [Russian] Foreign Ministry officials knew that the delegation was coming. Information on the talks is extremely scant, officials have declined all comment, and the fact that a joint press conference of Russian Federation First Deputy Premier Oleg Soskovets and Ukraine's First Deputy Premier Pavlo Lazarenko was suddenly called off yesterday, allegedly on the initiative of the Russian side, does not spark anything but questions, rumors, and conjecture. The deputy premiers discussed Russian-Ukrainian relations, which have more problems than successes. These include debts, oil and gas prices, transit costs of Russian energy resources across Ukraine's territory, economic indicators of trade relations between the countries in 1995, the creation of free economic zones, and the abolition of duties on industrial and agricultural goods. The Ukrainian delegation was received by Rem Vyakhirev, president of the board of directors of the "Gazprom" Russian joint-stock company. The outcome of the meeting was a framework agreement on gas deliveries.

### Yeltsin Signs Law Ratifying Moldovan Agreements

*LD2311130295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1053 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 23, RIA NOVOSTI — President Yeltsin today signed the federal law on the ratification of the agreement between the governments of Russia and Moldova on guarantees of citizens' rights concerning provision of pensions.

The agreement which was signed in Moscow on February 10, 1995, was ratified by the State Duma on October 27 and endorsed by the Federation Council on November 15, 1995.

The RIA Novosti correspondent has also learned from the Russian President's press service that Boris Yeltsin today, too, sent a message of congratulation to President of the Republic of Kalmykia Kirsan Ilyumzhinov on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the Kalmyk Autonomous Region and the 60th anniversary of its transformation into a republic.

### JCG Decision To Continue Talks on Flank Issue Welcomed

*LD2311194895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1807 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 23 (Interfax) — Russia welcomes the decision by the Joint Consultative Group (JCG) of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe to continue discussing the issue of force distribution allowed by the treaty in Russia's flank districts, and take into consideration Moscow's stand, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing in Moscow on Thursday.

The decision shows that Russia's partners officially recognized for the first time ever that the problem of flank restrictions, as it was raised by Russia and Ukraine, should be resolved in the light of changes in the political realities which emerged after the treaty was signed in 1990, he said.

He described the step taken by the JCG as a big achievement in the joint efforts to maintain the treaty's viability, and a confirmation of the fact that the spirit of cooperation and good will makes it possible to overcome the most serious difficulties.

Russia is pressing to increase its quota of conventional arms in its flank areas, primarily in the North-Caucasus Military District, because of the developments in Chechnya.

Karasin announced that the JCG decision was made on November 17 following the deadline for arms cuts and carries on the search for a solution to the problem of flank restrictions.

The decision stressed that the common objective of signatories to the treaty is the formation of new security structures in Europe and that the integrity and effectiveness of the document in the future should be guaranteed in this framework.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman voiced hope that further efforts of the sides will help complete work on the remaining problems soon. "Naturally this is possible only with due account to Russian security interests," the diplomat stressed.

## Ministry Official Urges More Arms in Flank Areas

*LD2211145095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1353 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (Interfax) — Russia's determination to have more arms in its flank areas, primarily the south, than provided for by the CFE treaty is prompted by force majeure circumstances and is evidently temporary.

A high-ranking official from the Russian Foreign Ministry told Interfax Wednesday Russia is working for an increase in the permitted quota of conventional armaments in the North Caucasian military district, due to the developments in Chechnya.

As soon as a complete settlement is reached, Moscow can return to the question of reducing conventional armaments in the region, the diplomat said.

He said the 1990 CFE treaty was drafted and signed in absolutely different geopolitical and military conditions.

"The developments in Chechnya have demonstrated that the prescribed number of tanks, armored vehicles and combat planes in the area does not meet the current needs of the Russian Federation," the official said.

Moreover, Chechnya and Nagorno Karabakh are probably the only places in the CIS where foreign inspectors are not controlling the implementation of the CFE treaty, due to the absence of security guarantees. When the treaty was written, nobody foresaw the possibility of such conflicts, the official stressed.

## Political Issues

### Radioactive Container Found in Moscow Park

*LD2311165095 Moscow NTV in Russian*
*1600 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] A container of radioactive substances was discovered in Moscow's Izmaylovo Park today. It is exactly the type of container Chechen fighters earlier threatened to smuggle to the capital as part of a whole series of terrorist acts on Russian territory. If the readings on instruments in this spot are to be believed, the radiation background of the container is five roentgens an hour. No one knows how long this item was lying in the park nor how many people walked past it during this period. [video shows yellow plastic bag being dug up in a park]

### Basayev's Recent Remarks Cited

*LD2311214895 Moscow NTV in Russian*
*1600 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[Video report by correspondent Yelena Masyuk, including recorded comments by Chechen rebel leader Shamil Basayev; from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Masyuk] Not that long ago Shamil Basayev gave a news conference in Chechnya's mountainous districts where he told journalists again about the containers he had of radioactive elements.

[Basayev, caption says interview recorded 8 November 1995] Recently, there has been too much talk that we bluff a lot, that we have nothing, that we can do nothing, so we will give them some trifles as presents, express our good will to them, and that will be our sort of disarmament for our part. [laughs] We have a lot prepared, everything to enable us to carry out diversionary acts that will make themselves felt in Russia itself.

[Masyuk] Explaining why the Chechens wanted really to prove that they have radioactive containers, Basayev said that the Chechens do not want the war to continue, but the war is continuing nonetheless.

[Basayev] Today, the big war seems to have stopped, but the small war is still going on. It all looks like a Bickford fuse that is burning — nothing can be seen from the outside, but it is burning inside and it might explode at any minute. [end recording]

[Masyuk] In Basayev's opinion, radioactive containers that are shown in reality may be a deterrent should active combat actions resume in Chechnya. Speaking in more detail about the containers, Basayev says that there were four of them on the territory of Russia, and that all of them were wrapped in trinitrotoluene and could be exploded at any moment.

You can see on these photographs the containers that Basayev said are already in Moscow. The package weighs 32 kg. There is Caesium inside the container.

Honestly speaking, it is difficult to believe that the Chechens really could have containers with radioactive elements since there has long been talk of the Chechen containers, but nobody really saw them. And we thought that the reports by the Chechens were just more disinformation.

But we decided to check the information that we had received. And when we went today to the spot that Basayev had told us of, to our horror, we really did find a yellow package there, in which the goods were found.

According to the radiation monitor, the permissible norm was exceeded 310 times. The radiation background of the container found by us is around 50 micro sieverts. That is roughly five roentgen an hour, while the normal radiation background in Moscow is 20 microroentgen. [video shows person digging through snow, package being dug up, wrapped up in sticky tape, shape of frozen chicken, taken out of yellow carrier bag, correspondent with device that shows highest figure of 40.9 micro Sv/h, map of Moscow showing location of Izmaylovo Park]

### Containers From Chelyabinsk 'Missing'

*LD2311175295 Moscow NTV in Russian*
*1600 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] POSTFAKTUM reported today that four containers with the radioactive substance Caesium-137 were missing from the Chelyabinsk Region. The fact that these containers were missing was noticed when a check was carried out at an enterprise in the town of Bakan [place name as heard]. Urgent measures have been taken to find the containers.

### Yeltsin Backs Chechnya's 'Special Status,' Amnesty

*LD2211190895 Moscow INTERFAX in English*
*1651 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin, at a meeting on Wednesday with pro-Moscow Chechen leader Doku Zavgayev, backed an idea to grant Chechnya special status within the Russian Federation, the presidential press service reported.

Yeltsin also supported a proposal to amnesty Chechens who have fought on the separatist side, provided they have not been involved in "the crimes of the (separatist leader Dzhokhar) Dudayev regime," as one of the ways to restore peace in Chechnya.

The president commended the intention of Chechnya's "new leadership" to lead the region out of the crisis in a nonviolent way and promised all forms of support for such efforts.

He also "spoke warmly of the hardworking Chechen people" and voiced the hope that "they will themselves decide what is the quickest way to restore peace and concord in their land."

Yeltsin and Zavgayev also discussed ways to rebuild Chechnya's economy, the press service said. The Russian president supported a proposal for a special economic restoration program to involve compensation for the damage caused by the armed conflict, construction of housing and educational establishments and creation of new jobs.

The two leaders agreed that "military methods to resolve the crisis in Chechnya have no prospects."

### Premier: 'Chechnya Will Return to Normal'

*LD2311104395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English*
*1022 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST. PETERSBURG, November 23 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told journalists here today that he hoped life in Chechnya will return to normal after the elections of the head of the republic on December 17.

The Prime Minister was speaking at Pulkovo airport upon arrival for a two-day visit to St. Petersburg.

Chernomyrdin stressed that a new leadership has been created in Chechnya and preparations for the elections are underway. Work is due to be stepped up further to allow the republic to occupy a worthy place in the Russian Federation, similar to that of Bashkortostan or Tatarstan with which Moscow earlier signed agreements on the division of authority.

### Bomb Linked to Chechen Threat of Attack on Yeltsin Clinic

*MM2311172495 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 95 Weekend Edition p 3*

[Report by Vladimir Klimov:: "Terrorists Mean Business"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The capital, it would appear, is becoming accustomed to everything. Street hooliganism, apartment break-ins, and car thefts already seem kid's stuff to us. The newspapers, as a rule, devote just 50-100 lines to shoot-outs involving automatic weapons. They write just a little more about the seizure of hostages.

The event which took place Tuesday [21 November] morning clearly cannot be classed as sensational. At a Moscow gas pump situated at the intersection of Minskaya Street and Kutuzovskiy Prospect heating duct repairmen discovered bombs. The terrorists had hidden them in shoe boxes. The boxes were wrapped in cellophane. The power of each explosive device was equal to 1.2 kg of TNT.

You can imagine what a gigantic fireball would have shot into the sky if the bombs had not been accidentally discovered and deactivated.

But for whom was this all-consuming fireball intended? I venture to offer my own suggestion: For some particular members of the government or other state leaders.

Why this version? First, because the gas pump is not far from the government route [pravitelsvennaya trassa]. What is more, cars conveying members of the government and the presidential team often fill up at this pump.

But second — and most important — this instance of the start of a hunt for high-ranking persons is not the first. About one month ago police officers operating on this same section of the government route received a top secret order to stop traffic and keep trucks off the route. Private cars with more than two occupants were to be thoroughly searched.

I was told of this order by one of the 100 officers who carried it out. The order was prompted by the fact that the Presidential Security Service had received information about a possible attack on the Central Clinical Hospital by Basayev's gang or some other Chechen gang.

On that occasion all was well. But a few days later security officers found an explosive device on woodland near the Central Clinical Hospital. Thus the secret information about a possible terrorist attack was not fabricated.

And now a new attempted terrorist attack on territory adjacent to the government route.

Is this a coincidence?

### Yeltsin Orders Tighter Currency Controls

*LD2111200695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1639 GMT 21 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 21 (INTERFAX) — President Boris Yeltsin on Tuesday ordered urgent measures to stiffen currency controls which his economic aide Aleksandr Livshits described as being a way of combatting capital flight via fake import contracts.

In an interview with INTERFAX, Livshits said the question was one of the first of a series of measures intended to bring order to the movement of Russian capital abroad. And he added these measures were being undertaken with "the help of a certain mechanism" blocking any irregularities.

On further steps to regulate the movement of Russian capital abroad, Livshits said normal ways of capital exports must be legislated to stimulate Russian exports to foreign markets. "More importantly, Russia itself can act as investor," he said.

Livshits said the existing regulations on currency controls were lax because the emergence of markets preceded the creation of market-related legislation.

### Court Postpones Hearing Lawsuits Against Yeltsin

*LD2211214795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (INTERFAX) — A Moscow district court postponed on Wednesday hearings on lawsuits brought by high-ranking officials against Russian President Boris Yeltsin "for an indefinite time."

Judge Boris Zhukov, who chairs the hearings, told INTERFAX that the break will last "until the chairman of the Khamovniki (a district of Moscow) court decides which judge will take on this case."

The court, which is dealing with the lawsuits filed by three former top officials — Boris Mironov, former chairman of the Russian State Committee for the Press, Viktor Cherepkov, ex-mayor of the city of Vladivostok (Russian Far East), and Yuri Lodkin, former head of the administration of the Bryansk region — honored their requests to appoint another judge to try their cases.

However, the decision was opposed by Yeltsin's representatives and the public prosecutor.

Cherepkov and his lawyer explained their request by the fact that at first Zhukov had refused to consider their lawsuit, saying that "you cannot suit the president." They also protested Zhukov's decision to combine three cases into one without their consent.

For his part, Mironov demands that he be reinstated as chairman of the State Committee for the Press and compensated for moral damages to an amount of at least $1 million.

Another plaintiff, Lodkin, also insists that the president's decree that sacked him be rescinded and he be paid a compensation of 100 million rubles, while Cherepkov wants to return to the position of Vladivostok mayor.

### Chernomyrdin Insists Russia Will Be Prosperous

*MM2311203095 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Weekend Edition in Russian 24 Nov 95 p 5*

[Report by Aleksandr Andreyev: "We Will Not Be Feared — We Will Be Respected. Viktor Chernomyrdin Replies to Questions from Regional Journalists in the White House"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The regional press asked a particularly large number of questions about the situation in Chechnya. A journalist from Stavropol asked the chairman of the Russian Federation government: Are the casualties of Groznyy, Samashki, and Budennovsk and the refugees and the people who have had their homes razed to the ground not evidence of a, to put it mildly, ill-thought-out federal policy in the North Caucasus? How can the crisis be overcome? Why did the premier's attempt to stop a tragedy during the terrorists' raid on Budennovsk fail?

"I do not intend to justify myself," Viktor Stepanovich said; "everything is not that simple. We had been heading for this tragedy for several years; its roots should be sought in 1991, when adventurists who disdained all norms of law came to power in Chechnya. They are to blame for the fact that people were killed and robbed, that wages and pensions were not paid, that schools and hospitals were closed down. Whether it was done correctly or not, history will judge, but soon or later this problem had to be solved, of that I have no doubt."

In V. Chernomyrdin's opinion, the crisis is being intensified by the people thwarted by General Romanov, who has done everything to prevent the resumption of combat operations, and by the people who organized attempts on the lives of Lobov [secretary of the Security Council and the Russian Federation president's plenipotentiary representative in Chechnya] and other politicians promoting the consolidation of peace and the restoration of peace [as published] on Chechen soil. "How many provocateurs there are — dozens in a single night!", V. Chernomyrdin continued. "We are constantly urged to launch combat operations again. This will not happen! We will consolidate the peace process and take the path of negotiations; we will support the new leadership, which has arrived to restore Chechnya to health."

Another topical theme at the meeting with journalists was covered by questions on the latest decisions by the president and the government to compensate investors swindled by "financial pyramids."

"These are not populist measures," the government chairman stressed. "For the first time in recent years the economic opportunity has appeared in the country to rectify the social position of various categories of the population. For the first time in eight months our industrial output level has not dipped below 100 percent of the previous month's, and some sectors of the economy actually produced more. The country is gradually recovering, and therefore the question of paying wage arrears to the power departments — the Army, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the border guards — is being resolved. Students, teachers, and doctors will receive their share. After paying arrears, it will be possible to take further steps to improve people's welfare. Provided that we do not allow ourselves to shake the country and shatter the economy by lurching backward or to the side again or by a new partition of property...."

Analysts from the "Russia Is Our Home" movement have elaborated a precise model for restoring the losses of gullible citizens, the premier said. They have proposed setting up share investment funds to accumulate the property, and a great deal of it at that, of the malevolent and unlawful "pyramids" — property which has been hidden from controls — and to help those structures which themselves suffered from the vicissitudes of the unstable market to get back on their feet. The monetary shares of citizens should earn money through the new fund, bringing in revenue for the investors, which will serve as the basis for the planned compensation. The government is to channel some of the funds from privatized industrial enterprises into this scheme.

...And once again the conversation turned to regional problems. Representatives of Dagestan enquired: Is there a program to provide equal initial opportunities for our regions to develop market economies? As well as the macroeconomic problems, many personal problems engendered by the partition of the USSR arise. Thus the Russian-Azerbaijan border divided the Lezgin people in the south of Dagestan; families, neighbors, and relatives cannot visit one another in the settlements and cities of the two republics. How is this geopolitical situation to be resolved?

"Yes, Dagestan finds itself encircled," V. Chernomyrdin agreed. "On one side is sovereign Azerbaijan, on the other the rising Caspian, and close by is troubled Chechnya. Lands, population centers, and livestock must be saved from flooding, the border must be closed to the waves of gunmen, weapons, and contraband trickling through.... I want to thank the people of Dagestan for their forbearance, their patience, and their understanding of our difficulties, and ask them to forgive the difficulties which have fallen on them. We are working hard with the republic's leaders, giving it the necessary help, although our possibilities are as yet small."

"Nevertheless, some things have been achieved in the region already: An agreement has been signed on points of entry through the state border and the procedure for crossing has been simplified, according to the wishes of the population of Dagestan. Trains have gotten through to Azerbaijan, and there are hopes that flights between Makhachkala and Baku will soon resume."

Journalists from Kalmykia in their turn are concerned over the implementation of the Russian Federation Law on the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples. The political rehabilitation has taken place, but the material losses have not yet been compensated.

"This is due to finances," Viktor Stepanovich replied, "We will pay up, however difficult this may be. A few things have been achieved in the way of compensation, but not many...."

Questions, questions.... Among them the problem of housing military units relocated from East Europe and the CIS countries to the Kuban and equipping them with services and utilities. When would officers and warrant officers receive housing? Acute, tough questions.

This meeting differed from a government session perhaps only in the fact that in the latter case the premier holds ministers to account, but here he himself is held to account, and for everything under the sun.

Many questions could be reduced to a single question: What will it look like, the new Russia, for the sake of whose future people are quarreling today?

"A country worthy of the people who live in it, worthy of Russian citizens," Viktor Chernomyrdin replied. "I am convinced that, on all the economic and social parameters, the lives of Russian citizens will become no worse than those of the peoples of the developed West. Everything wholesome that exists and is acclaimed in the world, whereby people live better, eat better, are better protected by the law, and better connected with the rest of the world — we will have all this in full measure. Russia must be a prosperous and predictable country. It will not be feared — it will be respected."

### Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Pensions, Youth

*LD2311114095 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1910 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[Interview with Russian Prime Minister by an unidentified correspondent on the "Vertical" program; place and date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Currently, there is a lot of talk about the way in which the government will tackle the problem of pensions. How will this be done?

[Chernomyrdin] There are 37 million pensioners in our country, representing a part of the population whose plight is far from simple. When difficulties started this year, well, naturally they have a knock-on effect on how people feel, but that is life. Naturally the government does understand that. What happened this year, all these difficulties, we not only understand them, but have to resolve them as well.

Suffice it to say that pensions increased five times this year.

[Correspondent] Five times?

[Chernomyrdin] Five times this year. They will continue to go up. This is one of the main directions in the area of welfare and it is a part of our policies. I have to tell you that [words indistinct] a question, where the money is coming from, how all this is planned, is it planned, or spontaneous, according to someone's whim. In the main all this is provided for in the budget. An entire system has been worked out concerning these sums and the way in which pensions are index-linked, where these sums are to be got from and why. Well, it is not as though I am justifying myself, but I must say that all this was indeed pre-planned, save for one exception only. Pensions became index-linked by the State Duma's decision of 1 July, but this was by way of an emergency move, it was not part of the plan or budget for this year. The price of this issue amounts to 7 trillion rubles. I say this again not because I wish to raise the issue of whether this was a correct, or an incorrect move, this is not under debate. We all must live normally and fulfill laws normally. Everything that is adopted has to be fulfilled as well. After all, we are talking of pensions here, of the category of people who are the least protected. I say this, because delays have occurred in paying out these extra sums and, naturally, in paying out.

[Correspondent] It did not use to be like this. It used to be that a pension — whatever it could be — it was paid out permanently. There used to be regions where wages were not always paid but pensions were always paid out on time.

[Chernomyrdin] Once again it is first of all connected with the extra index-linking. In the country as a whole it adds up to quite a large sum, a tidy one — 7 billion rubles [as heard]. Just provide the money? It would mean simply not paying someone else. It means that some article needed to be postponed, and this is where these delays in payments originated from.

I can say that pensions for August were in fact dealt with somewhere in mid-September. Payments have just been finished. In September we closed — the issue was resolved somewhere at the beginning of October. In October, we paid out — I understand that we paid October pensions out of the federal bodies' budget. All this money was sent to regions to pay pensions, and the last money was dispatched on 31 October. In fact in October we managed, but it is possible that a proportion of it was delayed in the regions as the process is still under way. Now, in November, we believe — I was dealing with this issue jointly with the Pension Fund today — in November in the next few days we will pay out in full all our.... [pauses] send all the pensions that our pensioners will get to the regions. I think, I hope for it very much — this a very big job — that we will rectify the situation by December. Starting from January, we should keep to the schedule. Pensions should be paid on time. We set ourselves this task, and I think it can be accomplished and we will accomplish it.

[Correspondent] Will the regional budget suffer due to the pensions being increased and paid out? Or will the federal budget cover it all?

[Chernomyrdin] No, the regional budget does not have anything to do with it. It is not connected with the regional budget. The Pension Fund calculates pensions and does the book-keeping. We are working — the state is working — entirely through the Pension Fund. To be more precise, everything is being accumulated in the Pension Fund so that it can be put in order. That is why regions are getting worried and anxious about the way the Pension Fund is replenished. Here the regions have something to worry about. Taking into consideration that wages are being delayed and taxes are not paid on time, I understand that pensioners reside in regions and I understand that leaders of the regions are worried — they were discussing this issue for a long time for the reason that this was not envisaged in the budget. At first it should have been stated from what funds. It should have been laid down. This is what the question is about.

I must say once again that a great deal depends on the regions. It is a rather serious question. Today throughout the country we have wage indebtedness amounting to 10 trillion rubles, and the indebtedness to the Pension Fund exceeds 15 trillion rubles. Allocations are not being made on time to the Pension Fund.

We are at present setting this task. Above all every enterprise paying taxes should settle up with the pensions fund. There must be no delay. After payments are made into the pensions fund there might very well be some manipulations, but all the taxes need to be paid. Everything connected with the social base depends on taxes — and not just that but the army and everything in our country. Our budget is precisely formed on this basis.

[Correspondent] Is the good attitude to pensioners connected to your election campaign? I think, if this were not so, the government would hardly be so actively concerning itself with pensioners. You yourself mentioned the figure 37 million pensioners. This is a big section of the electorate.

[Chernomyrdin] Well, over the past few days I have been hearing a lot about us taking these decisions and conducting a populist election campaign. I do not think that this is so. I am not even thinking about this. I have no time to think about this. The opportunity has arisen to tackle the pensions fund. We are now also tackling the investors issue, and we shall be tackling savings. This is all connected with the fact that an opportunity has presented itself and the economy is beginning to recover. I think that I can see some fine examples in the country, especially in 1995. It is very slight and perhaps unnoticeable and not at the desired pace, but nevertheless the country is calming down and has calmed down, and the national economy is beginning to operate with a different rhythm.

Suffice it to say that essentially for over half a year now the national economy has been working with production volume not dropping below 100 percent. This needs to be made secure. Some sectors of the economy are working very well and are already doing well. This applies to ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the petrochemical industry and some sectors of machinebuilding. Many sectors are at present, of course, in a difficult position, including the defense industry and light industry. It is not easy at present to enter into this rhythm and these market conditions. Incidentally much depends not only on Russian citizens and Russia. The all-union system has been destroyed and this affects relations and ties. Some things are being restored at present, some things need to be restored and some things are being created anew. Enormous restructuring is under way in industry. However difficult it may be, the process is under way and is under way in the sense that it is essential to transfer to products that we did not make previously.

We have a huge defense complex. We should start putting it to use today. We shall make it work, but we need time and money. The main thing is we need suitable conditions, including political ones. And when some people are trying to talk about our election campaign today, you can understand it whichever way you like. If we are doing a good thing, what is so bad about it? I can say to all our people: election campaign or not, the main thing for me today is to solve the problems. These problems are pensions, wages — especially for people working in the budget-funded organizations, student grants and payments to our servicemen. We are taking measures today about that and will pay them back all the arrears.

[Correspondent] You were talking about financing the defense sector. But there is a current view that the Army does not channel money into new equipment and weapons but simply eats it all up. What should we do to make the money that is going to defense not just to serve a useful purpose, to feed and cloth a soldier, but to ensure the Army is growing in a technical sense.

[Chernomyrdin] You know, there are people who simply love to stick labels, to talk about who eats it up and where. Usually such people are far removed from the actual business. I think that this is nonsense. How is it possible in such a country as ours? Yes, we have difficulties, but what do they mean by saying all this is just being eaten up. Once again, this is simply humiliating, do they really wish it to be so or what? I do not even know what brings about such pronouncements.

We have to move on to market relations, to create conditions for the market relations, to set out the parameters of the structural perestroyka, as we say it today. We are working to improve our Army. What kind of an Army do we want? What should our Armed Forces be like? Which sector do we need to strengthen and which of the things that we no longer need should be discarded? The specialists should have their say in this. But sticking labels today, to say somebody eats up something somewhere — one can say such things even about pensioners. When the whole country is in such a difficult situation, how can anyone be in a different position. This does not happen. Whatever sector we look at today, we need a deep restructuring. There is no technology, not enough equipment. Do you know how much do we buy today? We, with all our might!

I have to say, happily, that our defense complex is a highly-equipped, a very highly-equipped industry, with highly-qualified people, cadres, working there, from the shop-floor worker to the designer. No one can be blamed. I can give you figures, but there are some things that we do not need in such quantities any longer. We should produce other things then. In order to switch any factory on to another type of output one needs funds, first and foremost, and time. Therefore, with all the difficulties, of course, we cannot put up with an outbreak of unemployment, we cannot leave people without jobs, and all this must be organized. So, of course, this requires a lot of time. Therefore, everything we are doing today — I have to say again, frankly, that this is too little, but still we are getting on with it, including, and first and foremost, we are tackling problems in the social sphere.

[Correspondent] A question connected with young people. You recently had a very interesting meeting with them, but in your summing up you said: Well, you keep asking for money — at one conference it is money, at another it is money, at a third conference — again, money. We need to think more broadly. Clearly, we need to speak about some kind of youth policy.

[Chernomyrdin] This was the first time where the heads of many youth organizations were present and there was quite a complex discussion, but I think it was very useful for everyone, for us — this discussion continued for about three hours — for myself, of course, I could see certain problems in a different light, perhaps I could put it like that. And, of course, in some aspects our attention to our young people has faded somewhat. Nothing will come by itself, it is unrealistic in any state, especially in our state where there was a well-adjusted system and not everything was so bad, after all, with the Komsomol, for instance.

[Correspondent] Of course.

[Chernomyrdin] There was a well-adjusted system, work — look how many things the young Communists built, what gigantic projects! And it was done by young enthusiastic people. I took part in it myself when we were building up the far North, northern Tyumen. At the time when I worked there the average age of the population of Urengoy was 28-29. What a time it was, what miracles were performed!

[Correspondent] And the main thing is that everybody speaks about that time with great satisfaction and pride.

[Chernomyrdin] There is what to be proud of! And young people in Russia have always been doing great things this century and not only this century but in other epochs, too. We could speak very long about heroic feats and days because there's a lot to speak about. But now, instead of indulging in recollections here, we should be taking up the best past experience instead of rejecting or cursing it: all that is necessary and that is best while it is still fresh in our memory, all the best things should be taken up. Of course, those clear-cut orders, commands and all that — perhaps this is not necessary today. But there must be an organization. Young people need an organization. They need to be given assistance. It is necessary to suggest ideas to them.

[Correspondent] To give them a purpose.

[Chernomyrdin] A purpose and what needs to be done, what and where needs to be done. We have a huge sphere of action, especially for young people. Who else if not for young people? There are our northern and also our eastern regions.

[Correspondent] There are young people in Chechnya and young people from Chechnya who spoke out. That is also a problem. What opinion is one to have of this, and what is your opinion on this?

[Chernomyrdin] I may say with regard to my opinion, the opinion of the federal leadership and the president, at present we are doing a great deal. Great efforts are now being made.

Of late it has become clear who wants what in Chechnya, who needs peace, who is tackling the problems and who wants to resolve them by peaceful means, by means of talks, and who is so intensively whipping up tension. They are not attempting to solve anything; they are shredding everything.

There are in that region people who like something else and want something else. They have got out of the habit of working, out of the habit of normal life. They like banditry better. This will not happen. We shall do everything to put everything in order. We shall make use of everything, all forms and methods. But primarily to resolve this problem by peaceful methods.

No matter what happens there, restoration work is under way. In any event peaceful processes are beginning in the republic. But what is going on there now, that also will not continue. No one will remain without retribution; and let them be sure of that.

We must say a big thank you to our young people. Because our young people understand that on that small spot it is not for nothing that we speak of Russia; it is Russia, too.

### 'Power Ministries' Discuss Caucasian Policies

*LD2311121995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Viktor Khrekov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW November 23 (ITAR-TASS) — Top officials of the so-called Russian "power ministries", i.e. of foreign affairs, defence, security, intelligence and border service, discussed Russia's general policy in the Caucasus, Foreign ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told Tass Thursday.

He said that the meeting which took place late on Wednesday saw "a fruitful exchange of opinions on coordinating the efforts of departments" in accordance with Russia's mediatory role in Nagorno-Karabakh crisis, the Abkhazian and Ossetian conflicts in Georgia.

He did not elaborate.

## Media Issues

### Russian Radio Station Resumes Broadcasting

*LD2211223595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (INTERFAX) — The Russian Interior Ministry's center for public relations said the Ministry had decided to return the main unit of a radio transmitter to the Russian Radio station.

The police seized the radio transmitter on November 21 while checking the radio station's certificate for broadcasting.

"The action was carried out following a request from a federal service, under a Russian governmental resolution and on the basis of article 11 point 2 of the Russian law on police," the same source said. A corresponding Interior Ministry division examined the radio broadcasting unit of the radio transmitter belonging to the TTSI firm.

"The examination revealed that the radio transmitter was being used in violation of regulations. In particular, no permission for the broadcasting of Russian Radio's programs were available," the same source said.

The Interior Ministry said the radio transmitter had been seized under existing legislation and its operation had been suspended. The TTSI director came to the Russian Interior Ministry today at around 1:00 p.m. [1000 GMT] and submitted necessary documents.

Russian Radio Programs Director Stepan Stroyev told INTERFAX that Russian Radio had renewed broadcasting from 6:00 p.m. today. Stroyev thanked the Interior Ministry for "quick settlement of the problem" and the media for supporting "Russian Radio."

However, Russian Radio management released a statement to INTERFAX saying that the incident "resembles a political provocation caused by Russian Radio refusing to provide air time to a nationalist organization." Management said representatives of the nationalist organization had earlier pointed to their having close relations with government authorities.

## Military Issues

### Yeltsin, Grachev Discuss NATO Address, Army Budget

*LD2311145995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1424 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Nov — At a meeting with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev today, Russian President Boris Yeltsin approved the main clauses in the report the Russian defense minister is to give at the upcoming NATO council session in Brussels, Sergey Medvedev, the head of state's press secretary, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today. He said that during his meeting with the defense minister in the Central Clinical Hospital where he is being treated, Boris Yeltsin confirmed the need for a new meeting in Brussels between Pavel Grachev and his U.S. colleague William Perry as well as with the defense ministers of other countries planning to take part in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia.

Boris Yeltsin also gave Pavel Grachev instructions about the meeting between Russian and Ukrainian delegations which begins in Sochi today. There are plans to discuss at the meeting 18 issues of military and military technical cooperation between Moscow and Kiev which will be the subject of signed agreements, the press secretary noted.

Sergey Medvedev said the defense minister presented the Russian head of state with suggestions on bringing the situation in Chechnya back to normal and on the nature of the peacekeeping forces' activities on the Tajik-Afghan border.

During the conversation, the press secretary noted, the state of the Russian armed forces was also discussed, as was the organization of the armed forces during the period 1996-2000. Boris Yeltsin confirmed that all of the money the state owes the Defense Ministry needs to be paid from the current year's budget. The armed forces' budget for 1996 was also discussed, Sergey Medvedev reported.

### Grachev: Yeltsin Approves of Speech

*LD2311204095 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Boris Yeltsin, as part of his traditional meeting with his first aide, Ilyushin, met Starovoytov, director general of the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information, and Defense Minister Grachev. The meeting with Grachev touched on the forthcoming visit to Brussels, and Grachev' speech to the NATO Council. [video shows Grachev standing at Sochi airport]

[Grachev] My speech to the forthcoming meeting and my participation in the work of the NATO Council on 28 November in Brussels were discussd in detail. The speech was fully approved. I am ready to participate.

### Yeltsin Fires Military Budget Department Head

*LD2311160295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1548 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Nov — Russian President Boris Yeltsin today by decree released Colonel General Vasiliy Vorobyev from his duties as head of the Main Directorate for the Military Budget and the Financing of the Defense Ministry for "crude financial violations and the unsatisfactory implementation of a decision of the Russian Federation Government."

This was reported today by the Russian head of state's press service.

### Yeltsin Issues Edict on Safeguarding Installations

*LD2311111095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1024 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Nov (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued an edict "On measures to insure the stable functioning of installations safeguarding the security of the state", the head of state's press service reported today.

"With the aim of insuring the stable functioning of installations safeguarding the security of the state...[ITAR-TASS ellipses] and excluding cases where the implementation of tasks assigned to them is jeopardized" the president decreed "that the restriction or cessation of fuel and power supplies (electricity, thermal energy, gas, and water) and communications and amenities to military units and establishments, enterprises, and organizations of the federal bodies of executive authority which entail military service will be regarded as activities infringing the security of the state."

Boris Yeltsin instructed the Government of the Russian Federation to take urgent measures to prevent such activities and "determine the sources for covering outstanding payments for supplies received by military units and establishments, enterprises, and organizations of the federal bodies of executive authority which entail military service" as well as "bringing its normative acts into line with this decree within one month".

### Grachev, Lakhova Discuss Problems 'Plaguing' Army

*LD2311202895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1807 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, November 23 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev met the leader of the State Duma faction Women of Russia, Yekaterina Lakhova, early on Thursday at her request.

Sources in the Defence Ministry told ITAR-TASS that Grachev was concerned by the faction's backing his sacking which was motioned at the parliament sitting on Wednesday.

Several factions motioned that Grachev be dismissed from his post for ordering the Russian Army to vote in the December 17 legislative elections for Our Home is Russia bloc led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Parliamentarians said the order was clearly implied in Grachev's address to a meeting of military top commanders on November 17.

The factions pressed for Grachev's sacking for his "attempt to involve the army in the political struggle" in contravention of the Russian Defence Law and the Constitution.

A Defence Ministry spokesman told ITAR-TASS that Grachev and Lakhova discussed a range of problems plaguing the Russian Army and fleet, and improvement of benefits and housing for families of the military and of the prestige of military service.

## Federal Assembly

### Duma Urges Yeltsin To Suspend Auctions on Enterprises

*LD2411114195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1134 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 24 (Itar-Tass) — The State Duma urged President Yeltsin today to take urgent measures for suspending the planned auctions for the right to conclude contracts on the credit, mortgage and commission of state-owned blocks of shares of the enterprises, which turn out strategically important products, for purposes of ensuring the national security. This is said in an appeal, adopted by the Duma today.

The legislators expressed serious concern over "the intention of the Russian government to carry out before the end of the year the so-called 'mortgaging with the right to conclude credit agreements with the Russian government' of the state-owned blocks of shares of the privatized enterprises, which turn out strategically important products."

In their opinion, "this actually means the sale of those blocks of shares." Such actions of the executive bodies are at variance with the fundamentals of the Russian legislation, MPs believe.

"Methods of the fulfilment of the task on privatization revenues, fixed in the budget, are not approved not only by deputies to the Federal Assembly, but also by branch ministries, bodies of power in subjects of the federation and industrial enterprises proper, because they realize that as a result of the forthcoming sale the state will lose control over strategically important industries, which will be detrimental to the strategic interests and national security of Russia," the appeal of the Duma to Yeltsin stressed.

### Duma Adopts Law on Reorganizing TV; ORTV Illegal

*LD2411122195 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] On the eve of the upcoming elections, the State Duma has decided to pay special attention to legislation on television and radio broadcasting. Our parliamentary correspondent Yevgeniy Zherebenkov reports.

[Zherebenkov] At its previous sitting the State Duma introduced amendments to the procedure for television and radio coverage of the activities of state bodies. It instructed TV and radio to give daily 30-minute slots for programs prepared by the parliamentary television and radio service at a time convenient for television viewers and radio listeners, and stated that these programmes should not be edited and re-arranged.

Today the law on the reorganization, privatization, and liquidation of the organizations of state television and radio broadcasting was adopted in its final third reading. In fact, it deems illegal the creation of Public Russian Television, and orders that the use of the frequency for Channel-1 and also that the Moskva-Globalnaya satellite television system should be halted. The law suspends the transfer of state property to Public Russian Television.

Deputies have decided to reconsider the law on television and radio broadcasting, which had been rejected by the president. They did not succeed in overcoming the presidential veto at today's sitting. A conciliatory commission has been set up to carry out further work on the law.

## Regional Affairs

### Dudayev Spurns Peace Talks, Elections

*MK2211145195 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 80, 19-26 Nov 95 p 4*

[Report by Vladimir Strokovskiy on Dzhokhar Dudayev's news conference under the "Chechnya" rubric: "Dzhokhar Dudayev: 'Bring Gorbachev Back to Power'" — place and date not given; first passage is introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Usually it is journalists who hunt for General Dudayev. But at the reconciliation meeting between field commanders and Doku Zavgayev's followers in Urus-Martan, we, a group of Russian journalists, were approached by Akhmed Zakayev, field commander and culture minister in the Dudayev government. "Do you want to go to where he himself will be?" he asked. We understood at once that he was talking about Dzhokhar Dudayev. Many people wanted to go, but in the end only MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, NTV, ORT, Russian Television, Russian Radio, and REUTER turned out to be the lucky ones. We passed along such a labyrinth of roads that in the end we lost track of where we were going. Finally, we reached a closed courtyard. A gate. An unoccupied room. Our wait lasted five hours. Finally, we fell asleep where we were — on the floor, at the table — a cameraman, even in Dudayev's armchair. We were awakened by the house's owner. He urged us to go further. We rode for another hour until we reached a courtyard covered with puddles and entered a spacious house. Again, a large room, an armchair, and the Chechen flag. Suddenly a man in fatigues entered the room without much ceremony. He took off his army boots — women carried them away to wash them according to Muslim tradition. He sat down at the chair and said he was ready for an interview. This was Dzhokhar Dudayev. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI publishes the transcript of this news conference with insignificant abridgements.

[Journalist] Why have you rarely met with journalists recently?

[Dudayev] I met with them not long ago. Recently I have done it selectively, however, because chaotic meetings would be of no use to journalists, to us, or to the public; they only create chaos. Everybody interprets them as he thinks fit, to his own liking, carrying out his masters' orders. For this reason frequent meetings made no sense at all. Presently the time is ripe to give an objective assessment in the presence of representatives of the mass media.

[Journalist] What is your understanding of the internal Chechen dialogue?

[Dudayev] No idea. A Russian-Chechen war is under way, the continuation of a standoff that is 350 years old. There is no internal conflict, there will and there can be none. We will overcome all our domestic maladies on our own, without third sides. Currently, an armed conflict has to be settled. This is a conflict that affects the interests of humanity. When will an end be put to this arbitrariness? It is the United Nations that is responsible for everything. Genocide, genocide, genocide. Provocations, provocations, and utter lawlessness. All peoples of the USSR pinned their hopes on the UN, international law, and respect for human rights. This is where the utter lawlessness, lawlessness, lawlessness originated.

[Journalist] What ways of settling the military conflict do you see?

[Dudayev] The simplest ones. They must go out just as they came in. And everything will be in order. Afterward all our relations can be straightened out within 30 minutes. I have said this, I am saying this again, and reaffirming what I have said. There have been no unresolvable matters between Russia and Ichkeriya and there are none in sight. All differences could be resolved during 30-minute peace talks, without having to kill people.

[Journalist] Are elections currently possible in Chechnya?

[Dudayev] I hope to God that Moscow will hold its own elections without bloodshed and without war. But if somebody in Moscow attempts to hold any elections here, I fear lest the situation that has come about here should affect the elections in Moscow and Russia itself. I would not recommend provoking the turn of events here, which could reach an immense scale in just a few hours.

[Journalist] You probably mean war when you speak about events?

[Dudayev] Not only. My personal suggestion is that they will reach an even larger scale unless the Russian side cools off. The war is no longer confined to Chechen territory, it has spilled over far across its borders. The whole Caucasus is gripped by that, and also a part of Russia. And this powder keg is about to explode. Winter conditions are more advantageous for us. War is an art. It is not the number of men killed, destroyed hardware, or economic targets that matter. In war, it is the strong-willed who gain the upper hand. Ultimately, not one unjust war has ended in the success and victory of the aggressors. Not a single war.

[Journalist] As regards the situation surrounding the negotiations. How could you describe it?

[Dudayev] This is a path leading to a complete impasse, a flurry that makes no sense, and self-delusion. If the Russian side wants to engage in self-delusion, let it do so. Be we are not going to delude ourselves. Neither the standing delegation nor the joint supervisory commission offers a solution to the problem, they just aggravate the conflict, a path that will prompt both sides gradually to step up their efforts. The conflict can be settled in two ways. First, an unequivocal withdrawal of troops to be followed by talks — all matters and all Russian interests in the North Caucasus can be accommodated peacefully. The second path calls for the international community to act as the guarantor of straightening out our relations by bringing in UN troops to exercise control and coordination. These are the two paths.

[Journalist] How do you visualize talks between Chechnya and Russia?

[Dudayev] Naturally, at the level of the heads of government, or the heads of state. They alone — and nobody else — can decide on the withdrawal of troops. Any lower levels are just petty scheming exploited by certain unscrupulous political elements for their own purposes. This has been the case for the fifth year now. Everything is in the hands of unscrupulous politicians, belligerent looters, and criminals who should have long gone on trial — their place is an executioner's bloc, Red Square, and a good ax. To chop off their head.

[Journalist] Moscow has not reacted in any way to your proposal about talks at the presidential level. What actions have been taken by Russia in response to your proposal?

[Dudayev] Presently, I also do not think that a meeting at the level of presidents would make any particular sense. But at the level of prime ministers tnis is a realistic possibility. The Russian president is sick and unable to put his decisions into practice. It has showed during the past year, when he has repeatedly stated something, issued instructions, edicts, directives, given orders as to the conduct of the war — that bombardments be halted, the war stopped, troops withdrawn, and so forth. None of his instructions, directives, or orders has been carried out by anybody. On the contrary, everything has become even more tangled. It is the two governments and, naturally, the international community, that should act as the guarantors of implementing the obligations.

[Journalist] What are you dreaming of?

[Dudayev] I am not a dreamer, I am a realist.

[Journalist] What are you pinning your hopes for the future on?

[Dudayev] I am not hoping, I am confident. Had I not been confident and certain, I would have never taken up this job. I am absolutely certain that the Chechen people, the Chechen nation is one of the most historic achievements of world civilization, that the Caucasus is its ethnic home country, and that the Chechen people have the right to live in their ethnic home.

[Journalist] Elections will take place in Russia on 17 December. What are you planning to do?

[Dudayev] I am not going to do anything at all. There is the people, His Majesty Mr. People, there is a nation that ought to solve its fate on its own. Whatever fate the people choose, I am their servant. Neither lower, nor higher, I am equally as responsible as any other citizen.

The elections in Russia itself are fairly dubious from the legal and lawful points of view. They are fairly dubious in many respects. Show me the passports you are currently carrying. You are citizens of the USSR. This is absurd! If there is no citizenship, there is no state. I would strongly recommend to you a conceptual program for restoring the legitimacy of your state and your citizenship. You should bring back Gorbachev to power, straighten out all relations between USSR components...

[Journalist] Can the UN settle the Chechen conflict?

[Dudayev] The UN has itself become unviable, incapable of action and of regulating relations inside itself, let alone this country. Who could be given precedence in straightening out relations between peoples and states in the long run? These are religious denominations, the Vatican, Islam, and Buddhism. They alone can — in the event of coordination — take over the function of ensuring respect for human rights and straightening out relations between peoples... The UN has long been a dead organism.

[Journalist] There has been much talk that some field commanders have stopped taking orders from you.

[Dudayev] I have been hearing this for the fifth year now, that someone has stopped taking orders, others stopped as well, yet others started doing so. For all attempts by our enemies to tear this small single people apart, to drive a wedge between Chechens using blackmail, threats, provocations, sabotage, armed conflict, bribes, forgery, deceit, violence... Violence has been perpetrated on an immense scale, but the Chechen nation stands like a monolith, and finds greater unity in itself with every passing hour; only in unity does it see its strength and its future. Thank you all, provocateurs, saboteurs, terrorists, for bringing this nation together, finally making it a monolith.

Hardly a day passes without the Russian side's delivering massed missile and artillery fire on peaceful settlements, economic facilities, and even simply on the environment. Hardly an hour passes. Massed shellings continue day in, day out. Ichkeriya has become a test range. You are present here and you can see the shellings for yourselves. Meanwhile, no one in the world believes anything the Russian mass media are saying. Even the truth is now taken for a lie, because there is no distinguishing between the truth and a lie there. Total confusion. Complete lies. Total provocations. They want to build the future on lies. But no future based on lies has ever survived. So you are harming yourselves.

[Journalist] But if accord is finally reached, what relations will there be afterward?

[Dudayev] Ichkeriya is an inalienable part of the Caucasus continent. Throughout the recorded history of mankind the Chechens have never had anything to haggle over with their neighbors, they did not lay claim to other people's land or territories, had no feuds, nor did they engage in any hostile activities. Whether I want it or not, I might well have different wishes, but the peoples of Russia and the people of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeriya cannot be torn apart. These relations have withstood even so cruel a war as if there is no war and no enmity. All these peoples are prepared for peaceful coexistence at all levels. There is no bitterness in sight, even despite the cruel reprisals that are currently taking place. Do you think I am saddened by that? I am pleased by that. For all the cruelty, for all the sadism to which the Chechens have been subjected, the Chechens cannot respond in kind to those same sadists, criminals, and looters. So the Chechen people are ready for peaceful coexistence with any peoples. Russia's people are not prepared. Particularly the Russians. You are a little bit schizophrenic. You have a mania for dominating the world. You have this bacillus sitting in you. This does you nothing good, only harm. You should be treated to get rid of the schizophrenic view that all of humanity, the whole world owes something to the Russians. Get rid of it and you will live in peace with everyone. We should not be asked what relations we will be cultivating with Russia. Ask yourselves what relations you are bringing along. We will fight, snarl at, resist the relations you are currently trying to bring here, as any people would. Try to bring a different kind of relations and you will see a 10 times stronger reaction of goodwill, kindness, decency, respect, and the best human qualities.

[Journalist] Zavgayev has said that elections will take place while Russian troops are still present, and this will be even better.

[Dudayev] I am not going to comment on statements made by national scum. Commenting on them would mean to descend to their level.

### Dudayev Supporters Begin Anti-Election Campaign

*LD2211202395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Nov. 22 (Interfax) - An assembly of political organizations organized in Groznyy to demand the withdrawal of Russian forces has begun an active campaign to cancel the December 17 federal parliamentary elections in Chechnya.

Representatives from some of the 33 political parties and movements belonging to the assembly told Interfax that "each political organization took upon itself a specific region of Chechnya where it will undertake a campaign of agitation against participation in the elections."

Elections for the chief executive of the Chechen Republic are also set for December 17.

Separatist leader Dzhokar Dudayev's press and information minister, Movladi Udugov, told Interfax Dudayev had already received the resolution of a meeting of residents from the Shelkovsky region of northeastern Chechnya which said the residents would never allow "illegal elections."

### Dudayev Supporters Cast Doubts on Chechen Special Status

*LD2411115095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Nov 24 (Interfax) — Dudayev supporters doubt that granting a special status to Chechnya will change the situation in the republic.

The idea of granting Chechnya "a special status within the Russian Federation" was expressed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his talks with Chechen leader Doku Zavgayev Wednesday.

Dudayev's chief negotiator Khoj-Akhmed Yarikhanov told Interfax Friday that a special status might be granted to Chechnya only after resumption of talks on military and political issues.

"Neither elections of a Chechen leader, nor the granting of a special status to Chechnya will change the situation unless we take a decision on these issues and start implementing it," he said.

Federal troops commander Anatoly Shkirko said, however, that the Special Observer Commission on implementation of military agreements can resume work only after the Dudayev side "recalls its statement on its refusal to take part in the talks prior to the arrival of U.N. observers."

Shkirko links his personal meeting with Chechen rebel commander Aslan Maskhadov with the release of two Russian servicemen who accompanied Maskhadov through the territory controlled by the federal troops on October 22.

### Ingushetia's Agapov on Developments, Chechnya

*MM2211151395 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 95 pp 1,8*

[Article by Vladimir Mezentsev: "Boris Nikolayevich the Last Ingush" — note: on page 8 the article continues under the headline "Boris Nikolayevich the Russian Ingush"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nazran — When people in the republic talk about Boris Nikolayevich Agapov, lieutenant general of the Border Troops and former deputy commander in chief of the USSR Border Troops, they say that he is more pro-Ingush than the Ingush themselves.

Like [Ingush president] Aushev, Agapov experienced Afghanistan. They heard about one another there but only became acquainted in Moscow. Their job was to work together on problems relating to our prisoners of war.

"When Aushev was needed by his people after the Ossetian-Ingush conflict he suggested that I take part in the elections with him. That is how I became vice president."

...There was a light frost in Nazran all morning. The bright sun illuminated the high peaks of the snow-capped mountains ringing the city. As the day wore on it became warmer and everything took on a ruddy glow. It was impossible to get around on foot or by car

— the mud was knee-deep. But this is the mud of a major construction site.

A four-star hotel is being built on the shore of the lake, the city center is being rebuilt, and the highways are being widened.

Approximately 10 km from here in the fields of the "Ekazhevo" kolkhoz the new capital of Ingushetia is being born — Magas. Which translated means Sun. The functionally luxurious presidential palace was planned by Leningrad specialists. The huge sewage treatment works and water supply installation, the complex of administrative buildings and cultural establishments, the bakery, the park with the most exotic plants, and the 40 meter-wide category-A highway will delight not only the whole of the Caucasus but also the fastidious Europeans.

The Menatep bank now has a branch opposite the president's administration. But at the moment while gaggles of fat geese waddle through the puddles between the buildings you can't help thinking that Nazran is going to change beyond recognition in the not too distant future.

"When the Republic of Ingushetia was formed we had virtually nothing," Agapov said. "We did not even know what consumer services were here. Only the introduction of the free economic zone made it possible to begin resurfacing the roads, erecting power lines, and repairing the schools and hospitals."

It is hard not to agree with the vice president. The caravansary where I was staying had neither light, heat, nor water. But quite recently even this hotel did not exist.

"Three physical recreation and health centers, a high school, and a military school are being built here now," Boris Nikolayevich said, reeling off the list.

But for the time being Nazran at first glance looks like an ordinary rayon center. Albeit one with a president, a vice president, and all the other trappings of democracy. Is that a good thing or a bad thing? After all, in principle the Chechens and the Ingush are one Veinakh people.

It is a good thing above all because if the separation had not taken place the conflagration of war would have inevitably engulfed this region.

"When the troops crossed Ingushetia," Agapov said, "local inhabitants blocked the roads. You could easily understand them. There are 40,000 Ingush living in Chechnya!"

Our conversation was interrupted by a telephone call. The head of the Sunzhenskiy Rayon Administration was reporting a new incident involving the military. According to him a soldier had exchanged his automatic for a local inhabitant's hunting rifle. Now the military are demanding that the local inhabitant be found and handed over to them.

They surrounded a farm where there were milkmaids and workers and refused to let anyone through until their order was obeyed.

When the head of the rayon administration tried to complain to the commander they pushed him face-first against the wall and, in his own words, fired a volley of automatic gunfire over his head.

Agapov picked up another telephone and got through to the military prosecutor's office and requested that a representative of the office be sent to the scene of the incident.

"We are perfectly happy with the central authority but we are opposed to incorrect decisions that hurt our Ingushetia," Agapov went on.

"If Dudayev presented the Kremlin with some complex and unfamiliar questions they ought to have met with him and found out the cause of the disagreement: After all, Dzhokhar Musayevich himself agreed to contacts but he was immediately labeled an 'ambitious leader.'

"The center systematically forced Dudayev into the position he occupies today," the vice president claimed.

"If a treaty on the demarcation of powers between Russia and Chechnya as a component of the federation had been signed promptly, the disaster could have been averted. but no one in Moscow wanted to meet with Dudayev. Furthermore, back in spring 1994 Shakhray said contemptuously: 'I am no longer interested in Dudayev.'"

In Moscow today, Agapov believes, Ramazan Abdulatipov is the only man who is trying hard to elaborate a concept of nationalities policy, although no one is listening to him.

I asked the former deputy commander in chief of the USSR Border Troops to assess Chernomyrdin's actions during the events in Budennovsk. He replied:

"It was a 100-percent no-win situation for him. There is not a single state which can cope with the problem of terrorism. The premier only did what he had to do. Thanks to that we were spared 100 more Budennovsks and fresh tragedies in Chechnya itself."

In the Ingushetia vice president's opinion, ethnic and economic questions are placed in the same category in our country. The view is that people split up into ethnic enclaves because of poverty. But if the economy recovers the ethnic contradictions will be resolved.

"This is a profound mistake," Agapov said. "Take prosperous Canada, which almost split into English- and French-speaking entities. Do you remember the recent march on Washington where racial contradictions erupted? Are they short of sausage there too?"

It is my interlocutor's conviction that for a country like Russia the resolution of ethnic problems is the really big issue nowadays. No one is dealing with these problems or else they are dealing with them in the old fashioned way.

Bolshevik internationalism, Agapov states, has now been abolished but what has taken its place? What we can see is an attempt to carry out "Russification" using the concept "Russia and the Russians." Even the Orthodox religion enjoys a more privileged position than the other faiths. All this could lead to new disasters. The government should have realized long ago that a new Caucasian war is a [death] sentence for Russia.

...Of course, one certainly cannot agree with everything that General Agapov says. But as I have written before, this is his opinion. And I bound to acquaint the reader with the opinion of the vice president of the Republic of Ingushetia. I shall only say that despite the excesses, including the attack on the border troops and the raid on Sleptsovskiy airport, there is too much self-restraint here to become embroiled in war.

Are there Ingush fighting on Dudayev's side? Undoubtedly. But neither Aushev nor Agapov are responsible for them. No one asked them for permission. Furthermore, there are Russians, Ukrainians, and Balts among the volunteers.... Ingushetia itself is more interested in peace and stability in its region than anyone. The guarantee of that is the development of the region, the extension of the period of operation of the offshore economic zone, and the republic leadership's desire to ensure a plentiful and decent life here.

### Capsules With Radioactive Isotopes Stolen in Chelyabinsk

*LD2411070595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0645 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[By Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKAL, Chelyabinsk Region November 24 (Itar-Tass) — Four capsules with radioactive isotopes have disappeared from the warehouse of the Bakal mining enterprise, a representative of the Committee for Emergency Situations of the Chelyabinsk Region told Tass today. Previously they were used in the instruments that control the loading of trolleys with ore, but when ore production was reduced, they were moved to the warehouse. Several days ago it was found out that one of the walls of the warehouse was partially destroyed. There was nothing special to steal there, but the lead capsules disappeared.

Specialists believe that the missing containers pose no serious threat for the natural environment or the population of the Bakal Region, because the lead casing safely keeps the irradiation inside. However, local undesirable consequences are possible, if the thieves sell them as scrap metal and they are destroyed, or if the casing is damaged in the area, where the thieves live.

Special services are looking for the missing containers, while the Committee for Emergency Situations is planning measures for preventing such incidents in the future. There are many industrial enterprises in the Chelyabinsk Region, which use radioactive isotopes.

## Economic Issues

### Russian, U.S. Tobacco Producers Negotiate Cooperation

*MK2411105695 Moscow DELOVOY MIR in Russian 22 Nov 95 p 1*

[Report by Economic Information Agency: "U.S. Tobacco Companies Have Moved Toward Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to government sources, Russian and U.S. tobacco manufacturers are negotiating conditions for the joint construction of tobacco factories for the production of improved-brand cigarettes in Samara, Krasnodar, St. Petersburg, and Leningrad Oblast. The total investment amount is tentatively assessed at $180 million.

### Agreement With IMF on Moscow's 1996 Financial Obligations

*LD2211192295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1513 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[By Aleksandr Samozhnev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 22 (Itar-Tass) — Russia and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreed at their talks Moscow's obligations for 1996 and for a medium-term perspective.

The second round of talks that ended in Moscow on Wednesday focused on granting Russia an Extended Financing Facility, the Finance Ministry told Business-Tass.

Under this scheme, the IMF may provide Russia up to 12 billion U.S. dollars in 1996-1998. Out of that sum, Moscow hopes to receive 3.5 billion U.S. dollars in 1996.

Another crucial issue which Moscow and the IMF intend to resolve at their next, and hopefully last, round of talks in December is the question of budget revenues.

This indicator will be critical for the IMF's assessment of "the Russian government's ability to control economic processes in the country."

Russian Finance Ministry experts believe that an agreement on the Extended Financing Facility will increase Russia's rating of a borrower and have a positive impact on the talks on the rescheduling of Russia's foreign debt.

### Yeltsin Issues Edict on Pension Fund

*LD2211215795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1314 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Nov — Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, has issued an edict "On Additional Measures to Strengthen Payments Discipline for Settling Accounts with the Pension Fund of the Russian Federation," the president's press service announced today.

In accordance with the edict, the Russian Central Bank is recommended to establish a procedure by which the banks and other credit organization will report within five days to the organ of the pension fund of the Russian Federation that issues to organizations and citizens the document on registering them as payers of insurance contributions to this fund, on the opening by the above-mentioned organizations and citizens of current and other accounts, including budget, deposit, letter of credit, loan, foreign currency, and others.

The report also states that "the implementation of operations for payments by payers of insurance contributions to the pension fund with their workers for all types of income, and also the payment of insurance contributions for workers in accordance with voluntary insurance of the property interests of physical persons must be done only from one account, which in accordance with the established procedure is reported to the appropriate organs of the pension fund of the Russian Federation and the State Tax Service of the Russian Federation."

Banks and other credit organizations, if they violate the procedure for payments established in accordance with the present point, will be brought to account by the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, the edict from the president of the Russian Federation stresses.

### Livshits Urges Changes in Financial Stabilization Policy

*LD2211212995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1804 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Boris Yeltsin's economic aide Aleksándr Livshits has expressed approval of fixing the ruble at between 4,300 and 4,900 to the U.S. dollar, a policy the government launched last summer and has promised to pursue till the year end.

Yet the situation is changing and such changes must be promptly taken into consideration, Livshits told Interfax correspondent Boris Grishchenko in an exclusive interview.

He said there was today a need for some alterations in the government's financial stabilization policy. What was the central problem today was not the ruble-dollar rate but interest rates, and purposeful efforts were needed — primarily on the part of the Central Bank — to bring them down, something without which neither stabilization nor development of the economy was possible, the aide argued.

He also called for special measures to protect exporters. "Simply reducing export duties, which is what the government has done, is not enough. What is important is to preve[illegible] new industrial decline." And "it is totally unimportant what intentions are driving those who are capable of leading the country to such a result."

Commenting on today's treasury bill market, Livshits said treasury bills had become the only profitable form of money investment and described this as an "unhealthy" situation. "What is needed is the smooth reduction of profitability on that market," he said.

The ruble-dollar rate also needs regulation, Livshits continued. "What is needed is a solution that is in touch with reality, does not cause inflation and will not ruin the exporting industries," he said.

"There are no magic numbers in economics," he went on. "And 4,300 to 4,900 are not magic numbers either."

"In politics there is not and cannot be the 'last trench' syndrome, where there is a position that must be defended to the end and at any cost. In politics what is the last trench must always be the last trench but one." There must always be a predictability element in politics, and the same applies to the ruble-dollar policy. But this must be "a predictability based on reason and on a sober-minded assessment of everything that is taking place at the current moment."

Asked whether he did not think his views on financial stabilization ran against those expressed by First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays, Livshits said there were differences. "And that is quite natural too. There can be no fraternization in matters of principle," he said.

### Servicemen's Pay Cut as Chechen War Reduces Budget

*LD2211223795 Moscow NTV in Russian*
*1900 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chechen war is cutting deeper and deeper into the budget. Ministry of Defense spokesmen say that the government cannot afford to pay servicemen due to the major expenditure on the war. In Chechnya, there is no money to pay for foodstuffs, fuel, uniforms. They admit that the cost of combat operations in Chechnya have already exceeded 1 trillion rubles [as heard] for just the first six months of this year. Some now say that the figure is 2 trillion [as heard].

## International Affairs

### Kuchma Hails Initialing of Bosnian Peace Agreement

*LD2211222895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Nov 22 (Interfax - Ukraine) - Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in a statement Wednesday hailed the initialing of a comprehensive peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The event has culminated four years of dramatic diplomatic efforts by the U.N. and other influential international organizations as well as by various countries, including Ukraine, aimed at finding a formula of the settlement that would be acceptable for all conflicting sides," the statement read.

Kuchma stressed the "special role of the United States" in the Balkan settlement.

He has called on the leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia to put forth maximum efforts to implement all the provisions of the comprehensive agreement which "sets a solid basis for the final settlement of the conflict and for the establishment of a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Balkans."

Ukraine calls for the lifting of all sanctions against Yugoslavia and the admission of the country to the international community as a full member, which would contribute to establishing "peace and stability in the region and to strengthening European security."

### Kuchma, Latvia's Ulmanis Hail Bilateral Ties

*LD2211204995 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukraine is interested in more active cooperation with Latvia and the Baltic Council, said the president of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma during a joint news conference with the president of Latvia. During the negotiations with Guntis Ulmanis the sides discussed the creation of a Baltic-Black Sea Bloc. This idea is workable but it needs to be developed in detail, stressed Kuchma. On the whole, both presidents expressed satisfaction with the results of the first visit by the Latvian president to Ukraine. The level of political relations between our countries can be seen as an example for other states, said the Latvian president and the main task today is to develop an economic dialogue. "There are still a lot of problems on that path," he said. "A new prime minister will soon be elected in Latvia and I will ask him, in particular, to put the agreements reached during this visit into the basis of the work of the government," said Ulmanis."

"Europe cannot exist without Russia and the latter's entry into the Council of Europe is a matter of time," the Ukrainian president said regarding his attitude to Russia's entry into the Council of Europe. He hoped the neighboring state can overcome as soon as possible and by peaceful means the obstacles preventing it from doing so. Ulmanis expressed interest in developing good relations between Latvia and Russia and wished it a successful "consolidation of democracy".

Answering questions about prospects for introducing a visa-free regime for Ukrainian citizens travelling to Latvia on official business, Guntis Ulmanis said that these issues as well as others, i.e. fighting illegal migration, drug trafficking, and money laundering, should be resolved in the near future.

### Call For Phased NATO Enlargement

*LD2211223995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1924 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Nov 22 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma at the end of talks with his Latvian counterpart Guntis Ulmanis in Kiev on Wednesday said both NATO enlargement and Latvia's possible entry into NATO were high on the agenda.

Ulmanis ends a two-day formal visit to Kiev on Wednesday.

Kuchma said he and Ulmanis had agreed the process of any NATO enlargement should be taken in stages, but not rushed.

He made it clear that a desire to enter into the alliance was the right of any one country and nation, subject to NATO agreement.

### Kuchma, Ulmanis End Talks

*LD2311185495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The presidents of Ukraine and Latvia Leonid Kuchma and Guntis Ulmanis have ended talks in Kiev by expressing mutual interest in the idea of establishing a Baltic-Black Sea economic zone.

Kuchma said the concept which needs to be elaborated may well be put in place before long after coordination by the Organization for Black Sea Economic Cooperation and the Council of Baltic States.

He was happy over the results of the Wednesday talks with Ulmanis indicating Kiev's interest in closer cooperation with Latvia in areas such as science, culture, education and military technologies and within the format of the Council of Europe, U.N., OSCE and other international agencies. He said there were no big differences between the two countries.

For his part, Ulmanis described as being very important and effective his talks with Kuchma. He said Riga-Kiev relations could serve as an example of how to build friendly relations between two sovereign states on the basis of mutual respect.

The Ukrainian leader also expressed satisfaction over the Bosnian peace agreement signed in Dayton, the United States, and issued a separate statement on this on Wednesday.

Kuchma said the Bosnian deal follows four years of intensive diplomatic effort by the U.N., other international agencies and separate countries including Ukraine aimed at searches of a peace formula acceptable to all Bosnian sides. He pointed to a specific role the U.S. played in the process.

His statement calls on the presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia to do their utmost to get the deal firmly in place as the Dayton accords "form a solid basis for a final and lasting peace in the Balkans."

In this connection, Kuchma pledged Kiev's readiness to take part in the process of implementing the Bosnian agreement and postwar reconstruction of former Yugoslav republics.

He said the latest deal was paving the way for lifting economic sanctions against Belgrade and expressed the hope that the U.N. security Council would approve a package of relevant resolutions immediately.

Kuchma said the removal of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and Belgrade's comeback into international fold is the pledge of regional peace and European security as a whole.

### Resolution for Permanent Representation at EU Rejected

*LD2211225195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian*
*1920 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — On 22 November the Ukrainian Supreme Council rejected a proposed resolution to open Ukraine's permanent representation at the European Union.

Deputy Foreign Minister Anton Buteiko told the parliament session that Ukraine needed the mission to boost its communication with the European Union, as only two of its member-countries so far ratified the EU-Ukrainian agreement on partnership and cooperation. He stressed that a permanent representation was also necessary to prevent anti-dumping procedures against Ukraine.

According to the deputy minister, the cost of running the mission would fall within the parliament-approved expenditure on foreign economic activity.

### Marchuk Stresses Economic Reforms in EC Brussels Talks

*LD2411112895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian*
*1000 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels, 24 Nov — Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk held talks with Hans van den Broek, the EC commissioner in charge of foreign relations with Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, at the start of his visit to the European Union headquarters. The two officials discussed key issues concerning Ukraine's cooperation with the European Union and its member-states.

Marchuk confirmed the Ukrainian Government's commitment to market reforms. He stressed that Ukraine is counting on genuine support from the European Union, particularly in the lifting of restrictions on Ukrainian exports and the involvement of Western investment and advanced technology.

Later on, Marchuk will attend the final meeting of the intergovernmental conference on oil and gas pipeline management, where he will hold talks with the Belgian prime minister.

### Shmarov Interviewed on Upcoming Talks With Grachev

*LD2311183395 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian*
*1500 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin and Pavel Grachev met today to discuss the upcoming Moscow-Kiev talks on military issues. The talks open in Sochi, with 18 issues to be examined. Sergey Medvedev, the president's press secretary, said that they will discuss military and military-technical cooperation between the two states and, naturally, the Black Sea Fleet, despite reports alleging that the ministers are unlikely to discuss the fleet as a separate issue. To clarify this rumor, our Kiev correspondent interviewed Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov.

[Correspondent] What do you expect from the meeting with Grachev? Do you think any issues will be solved, and which, for you, are the main ones?

[Shmarov] Well, there is a lot of work to be done. First, there is the presidents' instruction to make progress in the process of dividing the Black Sea Fleet. Also, a sufficient number of purely interdepartmental problems has accumulated.

[Correspondent] Are there issues causing conflicts?

[Shmarov] I do not think they can be described as causing conflicts, they are simply difficult, otherwise conflicts would have already ensued. But naturally there are difficult issues, and that of the Black Sea Fleet is at the top. On the whole, both myself and Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev are in a positive mood. Both of us, and our staff and colleagues, are in the mood to try to solve issues; of course, maybe we will not succeed in everything.

### Ukrainian, Russian Defense Ministers To Discuss Bombers

*LD2411112795 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian*
*1000 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Sochi — Ukrainian and Russian military delegations, led by the two defense ministers, are meeting today. They will discuss 13 issues concerning military cooperation between the two countries with the purpose of establishing parity in the sphere of defense. Among others, they will address the problem of strategic bombers inherited by Ukraine after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Around 40 TU-160 and TU-95 bombers are deployed near Kiev, awaiting their transfer to Russia, a member of the Ukrainian delegation told UNIAN. After three years of talks, the sides agreed on a sale last spring. However, the price of the aircraft has remained a major stumbling block. Kiev values the bombers at $800 million, while Russian experts believe the figure is inflated. Meanwhile, Ukraine spends $1 million a year to maintain the aircraft.

According to the same source, the delegations will discuss cooperation in air defense, including missile strike warning, and military cooperation in space.

Russia is expected to offer Ukraine the chance to buy its defense technology, including strategic missile systems.

The delegations will sign eight agreements, including three intergovernmental and five interdepartmental ones.

### Ukraine To Buy Russian Gas on Contract With Gazprom

*LD2111202395 Moscow INTERFAX in English*
*1639 GMT 21 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov 21 (Interfax-Ukraine) — The Ukrainian delegation to energy talks in Moscow on Tuesday proposed a new concept of gas consumption from Russia by which commercial structures which have direct contracts with Russia's Gazprom natural gas company will propose necessary amounts of Russian gas for sale at the Ukrainian energy exchange.

A member of the Ukrainian delegaton, Deputy Chairman of the Ukrresursy company Nikolay Milenkiy, has told Interfax-Ukraine that in line with the contract between Gazprom and Ukrgazprom Russian gas supplies to Ukraine in 1995 will amount to 51.9 billion cubic meters of gas. In 1994 Russia supplied Ukraine with 55.9 billion cubic meters of gas.

Ukraine would pay for the gas supplies in part with agricultural and consumer products.

## National Affairs

### Kuchma Reaches Agreement With Factions on Constitution

*LD2211151095 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has reached agreement with parliamentary deputies and members of the communist and socialist factions concerning the adoption of the new constitution. In an interview with journalists held in Kiev on 21 November following his meeting with Ukrainian deputies he said that in line with the mutual agreement the constitutional process should proceed in accordance with the current legislation.

According to Leonid Kuchma, after it is considered by the constitutional commission the draft should be adopted by parliament and put to a nationwide referendum.

### Moroz Criticizes Draft Constitution 'Abstract Ideas'

*LD2311185995 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian*
*1550 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — The Ukrainian draft constitution submitted by the working group is based on abstract ideas and does not reflect the country's social development and public standards, Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz told a meeting of the Constitutional Commission on 23 November. He said the draft did away with the original principles adopted with the renewal of the constitutional process in Ukraine.

Moroz, who co-chairs the Constitutional Commission, said the proposed draft failed to deal with the "permanent source of controversy" in the formation of the executive structure and the definition of its powers. According to the speaker, there is no clear idea as to who represented the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of power in the state.

"There is no need for a bicameral parliament in Ukraine, this was copied straight from the Russian Constitution," Moroz declared. "The draft comes close to depriving the parliament of all control functions," he added.

The speaker pointed to the absence of a section on civic society and stressed the need to widen the range of individual rights and freedoms and strengthen the role of the judicial branch.

Moroz said that if the parliament failed to adopt the constitution, it should be referred to a congress of representatives from local councils of all ranks, rather than a nationwide referendum.

## Article Justifies Chernobyl Operation Until 2010

*AU2211162395 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 18 Nov 95 p 5*

[Article by Yevhen Perehuda: "Chernobyl: There Is No Such Thing as Safe Force"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 12 October, Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk held a news conference on the parliament's approval for the governmental program and prospects for the G-7's accepting, in the near future, Ukraine's demands for financing the closing down of the Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant (AES). The prime minister stated that, to get the G-7 consent, it is necessary to reconcile the proposals by various departments on the plan for resolving the Chernobyl problem and on the size of the funds that must be allocated.

Nuclear electric power plants do pose a threat to the country's security. However, any facility that functions on the basis of high technologies poses the same threat. In our time of high technology, it is impossible to do without sophisticated systems. From this point of view, it will, perhaps, be impossible for Ukraine, without its AES's, to overcome the economic crisis in which it has found itself. The plight with supplies of Russian energy sources and the long-term crisis in the Ukrainian coal extraction industry make it impossible to satisfy Ukraine's needs for electricity with the help of thermal power plants alone.

Therefore, a question arises: Is it really essential to shut down the Chernobyl AES? Of course, it is, since the proximity of the nuclear plant to such a huge city as Kiev is dangerous. However, the strategy of Ukraine's actions in resolving questions of the Chernobyl AES functioning must take into account the need to use possibilities of nuclear electric power plants, including the Chernobyl one, to overcome the energy crisis, until various branches of production are restructured, until our plants proceed to using energy-saving technologies, and, finally, until our thermal electric power plants start complying with world standards (according to Yuliy Ioffe, former deputy prime minister for issues of the fuel and energy complex, Ukrainian electric power plants that produce energy from coal, cause four times as much environmental pollution as the worst Western ones). Finally, one needs to remember that the majority of capacities at thermal electric plants are outdated and present quite a serious hazard both for the personnel operating them and for the local population. In the very near future, there will arise a problem of reconstructing the Ukrainian thermal power engineering. As a result, the amount of energy that is generated by the thermal plants will decrease sharply. Unless the thermal plants' capacities are compensated by others, in particular, by those at nuclear plants, Ukraine will experience a new and more terrible stage of the energy crisis. At present, the Chernobyl AES alone can provide electricity for three cities such as Kiev.

The leadership of the Chernobyl AES proposes a variant in which the plant will be able, on its own, to earn the larger part of funds to enable its eventual shutdown. It is suggested that the plant should operate until the last of its power units exhausts its resource — until the year 2010, while preparations will be made for decommissioning the power units. According to estimates, over this period of time electricity worth $5.2 billion will be generated. The profit will constitute $2,720 million. Of this sum, it is proposed to earmark $1,000 million for building the "Ukryttya" [Shelter] Facility; $600 million for reconstructing the plant; $700 million for contributions to the budget; $420 million for social needs of the Chernobyl AES personnel and residents of the town of Slavutych (incidentally, the latest mission of the G-7 proposed $3 million for social needs over the next few years; by the present exchange rate, this amounts to about 22 million karbovantsi per Slavutych resident). It is also necessary to mention that, over recent years, $300 million was spent on raising the level of safety at the plant proper.

This plan is perfectly realistic not only in view of its financial expediency, but also owing to appreciable achievements in making the AES operation safe. The International Atomic Energy Agency gives a high assessment to the efforts made by the plant's leadership and personnel in this sphere. It is significant that, among all Ukrainian nuclear plants, the Chernobyl AES is the safest. The number of violations of technological regulations at it is smaller than at any other AES. On the other hand, its operation is the most efficient, too. Its capacity utilization rate is the highest in Ukraine —

69.9 percent (by way of comparison, the corresponding estimate for Europe's most powerful Zaporizhzhya AES is 56.3 percent). Whereas the nuclear plants have generally fulfilled the plan for nine months of 1995 by 97 percent, the Chernobyl AES — by 104 percent. At the same time, if the leadership of Ukraine and the G-7 countries continue making various contradictory statements about the fate of the plant, it may be expected that the distressed personnel will not be able to perform its official duties properly and the level of safety and production will fall drastically.

Thus, we believe that the problem of the Chernobyl AES may only be solved if all aspects of the problem are taken into account, as well as interests of all sides, and not only of specific departments. This problem must not be solved behind closed doors. As many as possible citizens of our state must express their opinion, for it is precisely for them that the question of possible further operation of the Chernobyl AES must ultimately be answered; despite many obstacles and hardships, the plant, indeed, operates.

## Economic Issues

### Parliament Rejects Kuchma Draft Budget Amendments

*LD2311224895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian*
*1815 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — On 23 November a session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council rejected draft amendments to the 1995 state budget submitted by President Leonid Kuchma. In its resolution, parliament criticized the draft for failing to envisage spending on the new minimum subsistence wage and objected to proposals to set up a fuel payments fund.

Parliament asked the Cabinet of Ministers to revise the proposals by 1 December 1995, increasing welfare expenditure at the expense of cuts on the economic restructuring.

According to Ukraine's Minister of Finance Petro Hermanchuk, the amendments are necessary to compensate for the poor budget performance in the nine months of 1995. Only 58.9 percent of the annual revenue has been received so far, while the gross domestic product has dropped by 12.7 percent and industrial output by 14.4 percent since last year, the minister said.

He told deputies that the budget had lost some 80 trillion karbovantsi in revenue from VAT, due to various tax breaks. Also missing were some 80 trillion karbovantsi in oil and gas rent, and over 65 trillion karbovantsi through delays in small-scale privatization.

### Parliament Rejects Amendment to Banking Law

*WS2311102095 Lvov INFOBANK in English*
*0829 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV. On November 22 a majority in parliament voted against an amendment to article 22 of the Ukrainian law on "Banks and banking activities." The amendment proposed by the parliamentary commission on finances and banking activities would have allowed banks to become the founders of other banks. Serhiy Tyeryokhin, the commission member who presented the bill which would have introduced these changes to parliament, said that fears among MPs that the amendment would have led to banking monopolies were ungrounded. In his opinion, without this amendment foreign businesses will be able to take control over weaker Ukrainian banks. According to statistics compiled by the National Bank of Ukraine, every third Ukrainian commercial bank had serious financial problems in 1995 and operated under close supervision of the National Bank, 21 banks were reorganized, 12 went bankrupt, and another 17 are in the process of being closed. Mr. Tyeryokhin believes that if Ukraine's larger banks were allowed to buy shares in unprofitable banks, then the liquidity of the latter would increase significantly.

### Foreign Firms Vie To Restructure Oil-ar 1-Gas Sector

*MK2411105895 Moscow DELOVOY MIR in Russian*
*22 Nov 95 p 2*

[Report by DELOVOY MIR Agency: "Tender for Best Restructuring Project in Oil-and-Gas Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Four firms — FRANCE DE GAZ (France), ITALGAS (Italy), GASUNI (Netherlands), and PRICE WATERHOUSE (Great Britain) — are competing in a tender for the best project to restructure Ukraine's oil-and-gas sector, announced by the European Commission within framework of the TACIS program. As an Infobank correspondent learned from Heorhiy Brazhina, head of one of the directorates of Ukraine's State Committee for the Gas and Oil Refining Industry, the winner of the tender will be determined next week. In his view, the British firm stands the highest chance. Under the TACIS Program, more than 2.1 million ECU have been earmarked for the project.

## Government Imposes Temporary Ban on Coal Exports

*WS2311101995 Lvov INFOBANK in English
0829 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV. On November 21 Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers ordered a ban on the export of coal from Ukraine between 1 December 1995 and 1 March 1996. The sale of coal abroad has been carried out under a Cabinet of Ministers' decree issued 26 December 1992 on "Establishing a special regimen for the export of certain types of goods." The new order does not apply to coal being exported in accordance with inter-governmental agreements nor with contracts which were already paid off before the ban on exporting coal went into effect. This order is intended to ensure that plants producing electricity will be able to run continuously during the fall 1995-winter 1996 season.

## Belarus

### Lukashenka on Slowdown of Russia Integration Accords

*LD2311183995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Alyaksandr Lukashenka is unhappy over a slowdown in implementation of the accords aimed at integration of Russia and Belarus their leaders have signed before.

In a speech to the meeting of leading Russian industrialists and financiers of Belarussian descent in Minsk on Thursday, the president complained about having to keep on sending high-level delegations to Moscow to try to enforce the same decision.

He said such practices were discrediting bilateral relations.

He spoke of having raised the issue with Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a meeting in Sochi several months ago. Lukashenka said the Russian leader was angered and issued a series of instructions accordingly, but for one reason or other, the process of implementing the accords was again stalled soon afterwards.

The president said his particular concern was about Moscow's failure to readjust energy prices, one of the main conditions of an economic union between the two countries.

Lukashenka said he had to respond to Russia's procrastination by reorienting half of the country's exports to the West though Russia accounted for 70 percent of the country's export trade only a few months ago.

The president called on his compatriots to wield all their influence to try to bring it home to Moscow that any further delay of integration processes could be fatal. The meeting involved President of Rosstankoinstrument company Nikolay Panichev, President of Mosbusinesbank Viktor Bukato, Chairman of Promstroybank Board of Directors Yakov Dubentskiy, General Director of Radioexport Frantishek Kovrigo, General Director of Agrotekhnologia Fedor Senko and others.

Lukashenka accused some Russian media including Komsomolskaya Pravda and Moskovskiy Novosti newspapers of being behind a smearing campaign against Belarus. The president said that unlike his doubts in the past, he was now almost certain about the existence of a coordinating body orchestrating the campaign.

The president described as strange the behavior of former Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar during a recent visit to Belarus. He said Gaydar preferred meeting the local riff-raff including the leader of the right wing People's Front and his aides rather than government officials. IF Note: In the meantime, President Boris Yeltsin's decree to form a Russian part of the bilateral commission with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Bolshakov in charge came into force on Thursday. Bolshakov is authorized to coordinate activities by all Russian commissions including a government delegation involved in talks with Belarus.

The latest decree is aimed at deepening integration between the two countries, the paper says.

### Hryb: Lukashenka Edicts Far Above Law, Constitution

*LD2311184195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Parliament Speaker Mechyslaw Hryb speaking on Thursday said presidential rule did exist in the country de facto.

He made it clear that presidential decrees were far above the laws and constitution in force.

He accused Lukashenka of trying to create a situation in which the head of state would have the edge over the other two government branches. To make his case, the speaker pointed to the 1996 draft budget which provides for 49 billion rubles worth of financing to parliament compared with 140 billion rubles to the president's office. Plans are also under way to allocate a total of 333 billion rubles for the establishment of a reserve presidential fund. ($1 equals 11,500 Belarusian rubles — IF). Hryb also warned that the president's calls to abide by one set of laws and ignore others would sooner and later lead for total disregard of the law. IF Note: Although the Constitutional Court ruled as being unconstitutional five of the presidential decrees issued in the past two months, Lukashenka said all of them would remain in force. He accused the Court of being politicized.

Hryb said Lukashenka's decree issued on Tuesday and ordering to make up a presidential list of government officials was also unconstitutional. One of its provisions says none of the top government officials can travel abroad but on the president's permission.

On next Tuesday's new round of elections, Hryb said it was up to the Constitutional Court to decide on the legitimacy of final results. IF Note: The May round provided for a 50 percent turnout for the poll to be qualified as held but the new parliament remains unelected because of a low turnout with 13 percent of voters turning up at some polling stations. The parliament had voted twice to halve the figure to 25 percent, something the Constitutional Court approved afterwards.

However, Lukashenka opposes this saying the new parliament may have deputies elected on two different laws and may lead to a dispute over which of them is more representative.

Hryb spoke of being sorry for the Court which he thinks may overrule its own decision by agreeing to a 50 percent turnout as suggested by the president though all subsequent elections can be held in line with the parliamentary law.

He pledged that the Supreme Soviet was ready to step down as soon as a new parliament was formed.

## Moldova

### Snegur: Dniester Leaders Deliberately Stalling Talks

*LD2211212395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1804 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Moldovan president's spokesman Vasiliy Grozavu quoted President Mircea Snegur as saying that the Transdniester region's leaders were deliberately delaying talks with Chisinau on the region's legal status waiting for the elections to Russia's State Duma.

"The present Transdniester leadership hopes that reactionary forces will come to power in Russia and will recognize their anti-constitutional republic," Grozavu told a briefing in Chisinau today.

"If the Tiraspol leaders plan to play this card, they are bound to lose," Grozavu said. "Russia and Moldova are members of the same international organizations, except the Council of Europe. These international organizations would negatively react to Moscow's possible decision to recognize the Transdniester Republic," he said.

Grozavu said the Moldovan parliament would discuss the status of the Transdniester region in the near future. The draft resolution on the issue is to be published in the media "for the world community to see that it complies with all international standards," he said. IF Note: Snegur said at a Tuesday meeting with Head of the OSCE permanent mission to Moldova Michael Whaigant that the meeting with the Tiraspol leaders planned for November 29 was "problematic" because of the Transdniester leadership requesting the State Duma to recognize this "illegal state formation."

State Secretary of the self-proclaimed Transdniester Moldovan Republic Valeriy Litskay told Interfax that the meeting between expert working groups set for November 22 in Chisinau had been postponed for an indefinite period. The experts were to discuss settlement of the conflict in the Transdnestr region and work out a special status for the region.

Litskay said the Transdniester expert group, which he heads, had refused to come to Chisinau because of the Moldova leadership's sharp reaction to the Russian State Duma's resolution. The State Duma declared the Transdniester region "a zone of Russia's strategic interests."

Litskai blamed the derailment of talks on the Moldovan leadership. "Only four top-level meetings were held this year because of Chisinau's position though the initial agreement provided for monthly contacts," Litskay said.

### Reportage on Russian Duma Decision on Dniester

#### Snegur: Interference in Internal Affairs

*LD2211143495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1400 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[By Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU November 22 (Itar-Tass) — Moldova sharply reacted on Wednesday [22 November] to a call of the Russian State Duma to recognise the independence of the breakaway Dniester region and President Mircea Snegur qualified the Russia's lower house resolution as "an unfriendly act and interference into internal affairs".

On Friday the Duma passed the resolution calling on President Boris Yeltsin to recognize the mostly Russian-populated Dniester region as a "zone of special Russian interests", to consider recognising its independence and opening a Russian consulate there.

Russian lawmakers also plan to send observers to the referendum in the Dniester region on its joining the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Snegur expressed his negative attitude to the Duma resolution in a letter to Yeltsin, while the Moldovan Foreign Ministry called on the UN and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] to express disapproval of the Duma decision and to "take the necessary steps to ensure the territorial integrity" of Moldova.

### Parliament Rejects Duma 'Interference'

*LD2311223695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1921 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, Nov 23 (Interfax) — The Moldovan parliament found that the recent Russian State Duma resolution on Transdniester ignores the lawful interests of Moldova.

The statement, passed in Chisinau Thursday evening, says that the Moldovan parliament resolutely rejects the policy of interference in the internal affairs of the country.

The Duma resolution, it says, contradicts generally accepted principles of international relations, bilateral agreements and founding documents of the CIS.

### PFDM: Duma Decision 'Gross Interference'

*AU2211162895 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 21 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 21 (INFOTAG) — The opposition Party of Democratic Forces [PFDM] has called all power branches "to clearly define their attitude to the policy conducted by the Russian Federation towards the Republic of Moldova."

The PFDM has adopted its Statement in connection with the State Duma's resolution concerning Dniester, and has called the Moldovan authorities to undertake measures to speed up Moscow's ratification of documents regulating the Moldovan-Russian relations.

The PFDM believes it necessary to call all world countries and international organizations to exercise pressure on Russia to make it respect de facto the Republic of Moldova as an independent and sovereign state.

The party has regarded the Duma's resolution of November 17 as a gross interference into Moldovan domestic affairs. "The current ruling coalition in Chisinau gave Moscow enough grounds for interfering into Moldova's internal problems", the Statement reads. The Party of Democratic Forces believes that the recent actions and decisions of Moscow with regard to Moldova signify the implementation of Yeltsin's decree "On the Strategic Course of the Russian Federation towards CIS Member States," which shapes a differentiated approach to new independent states depending on their loyalty to Moscow's plans to establish new military-political structures in the East.

The PFDM statement points out the danger Moldova will be in upon integration into CIS structures, and contains an appeal to the Parliament, president and government to address to international organizations for help in resolving the Dniester conflict, removing the Russian contingent from the eastern areas, liberating the Ilascu [Ilie Ilascu, Moldovan political figure detained in Tiraspol] group, etc.

The party called all political forces in Moldova to voice their attitude to the Russian State Duma's behaviour and to the relationship between the current Chisinau authorities and the official Moscow.

### USF: Decision Might 'Stimulate' Negotiations

*AU2211163395 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 21 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 21 (INFOTAG) — The parliamentary Socialist Unity Faction [USF] has stated that the Russian State Duma's resolution concerning the Dniester situation "could become a stimulus for activization of the negotiation process and for involving the Moldovan and Dniester Parliaments into it." The faction's statement, delivered to INFOTAG, reads that "the key reason why the Dniester republic appeared as such was the wave of rampant nationalism and unionism stirred up by nationalistic radicals in late-1980s. The climax of this irresponsible, in fact anti-Moldovan policy was the fratricidal war with Dniester in 1992." The faction expressed its gratitude to Russia "for the role it played in stopping the bloodshed."

In the fraction's belief, "the political circles who are responsible for unleashing the war now realize that the conflict settlement will change the alignment of political forces in Moldova not in their favour. That is why they are deeply inimical to the cause of restoring the integrity of our republic. They have been blocking the negotiation process for over 1.5 year by now, standing up with new provocative 'initiatives' ranging from propositions to hold a separatism conference in Chisinau to attempts to adopt the 'unified Romanianism' theory as an official and compulsory-for-everybody ideology of our state."

The statement points out that the Parliament is partly responsible for the "success" of the provocateurs of the national hostility and political confrontation, for the forum allowed itself to be passive in seeking a peaceful integration of the republic. The faction proposes to set up a parliamentary commission for drafting the Dniester legal status.

### FPCDM Weekly: Moscow Wants To 'Annex' Dniester

*AU2311144495 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 21 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 21 (INFOTAG) — "The fraternization of the Russian State

Duma with the Dniester regime is greatly compromising the political gamesmanship of agrarian democrats, depriving them of their great hope — the Russian ace," writes TARA, the newspaper of the Popular Front [FPCDM].

In its today's article entitled "A Cold Snap in Moldova-Russian Relations," the ties between Chisinau and Moscow are compared with a love without reciprocity. "Moscow is switching from propaganda speculations to concrete actions, having launched an operation of re-integrating the territories lost with the break-up of the USSR... The Duma's decision concerning Dniester indicates that the territory between the Prut and Dniester is so far permitted to breathe freely."

In the paper's opinion, the Kremlin is seeking to annex Dniester and to make 'a second Finland' of Bessarabia. "The development will follow the Cyprus model, which will substantially re-shape the political configuration in the region. On the one side, Russia will begin transforming the separatist Dniester republic into a satellite state... On the other, Moldova proper will be consolidating its pro-Western sympathies. In such conditions, the Dniester is risking to become a division line between not only two countries, but two worlds."

### General Wants Russian Troops in Dniester for Peacekeeping

*AU2311210295 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 22/11/1995 (BASA-press) — General Aleksandr Sokolov, Russian ground troops assistant commander, supported a peacekeeping mandate for the Dniester-based Russian troops at today's meeting of the Joint Control Commission (CMC). He said observers of the Moldovan, Russian and Dniester peacekeepers could monitor the Russian weapons pullout.

A CMC representative told BASA-press that these problems go beyond the CMC competence and may be solved only by Moldovan and Russian leaders. According to the July 21, 1992 Yeltsin-Snegur convention, the Russian troops may not participate in the peacekeeping process and have to preserve neutrality.

Currently, Russian peacekeepers number about 600 soldiers and officers.

During his visit in Moldova, General Aleksandr Sokolov discussed issues of Moldovan-Russian military relations with Moldovan Defence Ministry officials. He also visited Tiraspol and Tighina (Bender).

### Opposition Leader Favors 'Phased' Romanian Integration

*AU2211180095 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 21 Nov 95*

["Valeriu Matei: 'Opposition Struggling for Electorate's Confidence by Displaying Serious Approach to Problem Solution' — Interview to INFOTAG"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 21 (INFOTAG) —

INFOTAG: Mr. Matei [president of the Democratic Forces Party of Moldova, PFDM], during the three years since the establishment of your party, it has become, as you stated at its recent congress, the leading opposition force in the republic. How can you explain such a success, and what was the necessity of changing the party name practically every year?

Valeriu Matei: It is well known that the Party of Democratic Forces is really the leading opposition force — a truly democratic one. Our local structures operate in 34 districts, Chisinau and Balti. We have a serious leadership team which unites the best experts in all spheres who are ready to assume governance responsibility at any moment. We really changed our name several times, but that was not due to a crisis of identity, as some people believe. It was a result of natural evolution. The party was joined by other political forces, and managed to attract lots of new members representing various social layers. Any speculations around the current party name are groundless. Taking into consideration the wishes of our electorate, the Party of Democratic Forces has been consistently conducting a policy of unification and consolidation of all democratically-oriented opposition forces, and made a crucial contribution into the establishment of the Bloc of Peasants and Intelligentsia on the eve of the 1994 parliamentary elections, and of the electoral bloc called "Alliance of Democratic Forces" in January 1995, just a few months before the memorable local elections. In the latter bloc, our party played a catalyzing role. We fully realize our responsibility before the electorate, particularly at the current moment of political differentiation. That is why we shall strictly observe the resolution of the 5th PFDM Congress and shall conduct the guideline policy of unification and consolidation of all democratic political parties which have any weight in the society.

Question: Do you believe a PFDM presidential candidate can count on a success in the elections?

Answer: Our participation in the presidential elections is almost inevitable. The catastrophic situation in the Moldovan society drives us, a serious political unit, to participate in any-level elections, otherwise we will be inevitably pushed to the outskirts of political existence.

Question: On the one hand, you stand up against splitting democratic political forces, on the other — you fail to form a solid union with the Christian Democratic Popular Front [FPCD], a force no less oppositional that your party. What are your dissensions with the Front which in due time was the cradle of practically all the leaders of the parties now united into the PFDM, including yourself?

Answer: The principles which are common both for us and the Popular Front considerably prevail over our differences. We have always shown our deep understanding towards the Front. In previous years, many of us spared no efforts to make that political formation strong and consolidated. And even now we consider it a potential ally in our political battles and election campaigning.

Question: Do the PFDM and Popular Front have any differences on the Moldova-Romania unification question? What is your attitude to this burning issue?

Answer: The historic truth is that the biggest portion of Moldova was and is an integral part of Romania. This reality is the result of the natural development of the Romanian nation during the last three centuries, an evolution which accepts no speculations. The absurd assertions of some Chisinau politicians on the necessity of forming the Great Moldova only reveals their essence — the essence of clowns conceived in Stalin's test-tubes. We have been incessantly struggling for the elimination of all consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and we believe that now the Moldovan population can return to the natural frame of its evolution solely through restoring the national self-conscience of the majority Romanian population, though a phased, all-level integration of the two Romanian countries — simultaneously with building a law-governed state, with conducting democratic reforms in all spheres of life. By the way, this is the way we suggest for penetrating into European structures.

Question: There exists an opinion that the greatest benefits from the discords between power branches is being earned by the opposition. Is that so?

Answer: The opposition is not 'earning benefits' from the superficial re-groupings taking place at the power pyramid top. It is struggling for electorate's confidence through displaying a serious approach to the problems faced by the society. The bankrupt socio-economic policy of the current government, backed by a parliamentary majority, and the anti-national policy in politics and culture — that's what forces the electorate to support other political forces which are able to promote overcoming the crisis of economy and society. So far, we cannot yet speak about an obvious political re-orientation in the society. But this process in gaining momentum. More and more people begin to comprehend that the Agrarian Democratic Party [PDAM] has become an appendage of the Unity Movement and parliamentary socialists, and is conducting their anti-national policy. The social demagogy of communists — who promise to provide the population with sausages for two lei per kilo and return to the good old times of the Soviet empire — is aimed at stimulating the nostalgically minded post-Soviet citizens, misleads the population, and is smoke-screening the socialist essence of the current Chisinau rulers. The Party of Democratic Forces, being a powerful and mature opposition political formation, does not deviate from its programme principles, and does not flirt with alien political interests.

# Kazakhstan

## Nazarbayev, Rakhmanov Sign Cooperation Documents

*LD2211210995 Almaty Kazakh Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Emomali Rakhmanov of the Republic of Tajikistan was in Almaty today on a short working visit. [passage omitted]

The presidents of the two countries, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Emomali Rakhmanov, held talks today during which they discussed a wide range of issues of bilateral cooperation as well as international problems of mutual interest.

Talks also took place at the intergovernmental level. The sides informed each other about the political and economic situation in their republics and about the pace of economic reforms. During the meeting they stressed the need to further develop and extend Kazakh-Tajik cooperation. The traditional friendly relations between the people of the two countries and the similarity of their views on various foreign policy matters are conducive to this. Therefore, the existing potential for bilateral links should be used more fully.

The Tajik side confirmed its willingness to join the customs union of the three states of Kazakhstan, Russia, and Belarus.

The two heads of state were present at the ceremonial signing of important Kazakh-Tajik documents. In addition to a joint communique, the sides signed three agreements. The first, on further developing and extending economic cooperation, is intended to provide a new basis for these links, especially in such branches of industry as nonferrous metallurgy, mining, and agriculture. The second, on free trade, confirms in principle that Tajikistan is to be granted most-favored-nation status in trade. The third signed document was concerned with the conditions for rescheduling Tajikistan's debts to Kazakhstan. It envisages that the conditions for the repayment to Kazakhstan of the Tajik debt of $18 million will be defined after international financial organizations examine the Tajik Government's economic measures. These agreements were signed by Kazakh First Deputy Prime Minister Nyghmetzhan Yesengharin and his Tajik counterpart Mahmadsaid Ubaydullayev.

The signing ceremony ended with an impromptu news conference at which the two presidents commented on the documents signed and expressed their views on other domestic and foreign policy issues, including the settlement of the inter-Tajik conflict and the refugee problem:

[Begin recording] [Rakhmanov] Of course, we cannot be indifferent when a Kazakh battalion defends us, Tajiks, on our borders, when Kazakh lads die there. Of course, we want more consultations in political terms.

[Nazarbayev] As was previously agreed, with support from the United Nations, we are actively working on creating a joint peacekeeping battalion of the Central Asian states. We need such a thing. Then our lads will take part in peacekeeping operations all over the world under UN auspices and we will have an opportunity to train them there. Is that not good? [end recording]

## Official on Kazakh-Russian Accord, Cossack Chief

*LD2211204795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, Nov 22 (Interfax) — Kazakh First Deputy Foreign Minister Nurlan Danenov said he considered as groundless "attempts of Russian MPs to link the ratification of Kazakh-Russian agreements with the case of Cossack Commander Nikolay Gunkin."

Commander of the Semirechensk Cossack Troops Nikolay Gunkin got a three-month sentence from the Almaty Court Tuesday.

"Kazakhstan understands the Russian State Duma's taking care of compatriots living abroad," Danenov told a press conference in Almaty today. However, he warned Russia against using "such care as a tool for exercising political pressure on other states."

"The Kazakh Foreign Ministry is attentively studying the Duma-adopted statement for protecting Cossack Commander Gunkin," Danenov said. He said he believed that the State Duma had adopted such a document because of "insufficient information concerning real developments in Kazakhstan."

## Qazhygeldin Discusses Partnership for Peace

*LD2411002195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] London, 23 Nov — Kazakhstan actively supports the "Partnership for Peace" program and, at the same time, is a military ally of Russia. This was stated by Kazakh Prime Minister Akezhan Qazhygeldin in an exclusive interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent today. Qazhygeldin is in Britain on an official visit.

"We are aware of our geopolitical situation and realize what tasks Kazakhstan might face in future, particularly in connection with the situation in Tajikistan," the prime minister of the Kazakh state said. "Russia and Kazakhstan are neighbors and have been together so long that we need to continue living together. That is why in our opinion every effort made by Almaty to add new dynamism to the traditional relationship with the Russian Federation and to create institutions for cooperation should be welcomed." [passage omitted]

The prime minister stressed: "It is constantly necessary to support the idea of the commonwealth of former Soviet republics and to support the formation of interstate institutions involved with this. I am sure the new generations of Russian citizens will not be indifferent to the position and character of Kazakhstan."

## Almaty, Moscow To Cooperate on Another Oil Pipeline

*LD2311202795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1806 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] LONDON, November 23 (Itar-Tass) — Russia and Kazakhstan have reached an agreement on the construction of another oil pipeline running from the Tengiz oil deposit in Kazakhstan, said Kazakh Prime Minister Akezhan Qazhygeldin, currently in Great Britain on an official visit.

The Kazakh Prime Minister said that following a meeting between Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow last week, the Russian government was instructed to study and approve a project of the creation of an alternative oil pipeline consortium. "All sides involved in this project will be given equal commercial opportunities", the Kazakh Premier said. From the Russian side, not only the government, but one of Russia's oil developing companies, such as "LUKoil" or" Rosneft", will take part in the consortium, the Kazakh Prime Minister said.

"The project is undoubtedly advantageous both to Russia and Kazakhstan, since we shall be able to increase our export potential thanks to another oil pipeline and, depending on its length, Kazakhstan will make profits from oil transportation across its territory," he noted.

During the visit to Great Britain Almaty officials have gained support of the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] managers, major British oil companies and the British government which approved of the idea of the creation of an alternative consortium. "If the EBRD issues a written statement and declares its readiness to finance the project, all the participants will have to do is to negotiate the terms for carrying it through," the Kazakh official said.

Later, the Kazakh minister confirmed to Itar-Tass that the EBRD had pledged to allocate over two billion dollars to finance project in Kazakhstan. According to the Kazakh official, the EBRD has declared its support to the pace of reforms conducted by the Kazakh government. The EBRD has expressed its readiness to allocate credits to a total of 22 projects to be launched in Kazakhstan in 1996. Besides, during the visit the EBRD has pledged to finance four more special projects, Qazhygeldin said.

The Kazakh Prime Minister pointed out that the results of the talks held with the EBRD in London and a seminar devoted to Kazakhstan and its future conducted by the bank had fully refuted mass media allegations about some tension in the relations between Almaty and EBRD managers.

## UK's John Major Receives Kazakh Premier

*LD2411110495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1846 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, 23 Nov — The first official visit to the United Kingdom by the prime minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Akezhan Qazhygeldin, ended with a meeting with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, John Major.

The Kazakh premier's press secretary told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that an intergovernmental agreement on incentives for and the protection of foreign investment was signed following talks between the heads of government of the two countries. This agreement, he noted, will help to increase the flow of foreign capital investment into the republic's economy as well as making foreign investors more active within Kazakhstan.

Speaking about the visit in an exclusive interview with the ITAR-TASS correspondent, Akezhan Qazhygeldin said that the Kazakh delegation's task was to hold talks with leading British ministries which might have an influence on greater bilateral cooperation and with high ranking representatives of the executive power and banks.

"We also pursued the far reaching aim of promoting our own achievements, our own state as a good location for foreign investors to place their capital," he stressed. "To sum up the meetings held and the productive talks with the heads of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, it can be said that the visit to the United Kingdom was completely successful".

## Tajikistan

### Yeltsin's Aide Probes Tajik-Afghan Border Situation

*LD2211144095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1119 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE November 22 (Itar-Tass) — Dmitriy Ryurikov, the aide of the Russian president on international affairs, continued his two-day fact-finding mission in Tajikistan on Wednesday [22 November] where Russian forces guard the border with Afghanistan to keep opposition Islamic militants from penetrating into the former Soviet republic.

On Tuesday Ryurikov had a long talk with Tajik president Emomali Rakhmanov concerning Russian-Tajik relations and an on-going preparation for the talks between the Tajik government and the opposition scheduled for the end of November in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. No details of the talks were available.

On Wednesday, Ryurikov discussed the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border with Vladimir Novikov, deputy commander of the Russian troops in Tajikistan.

According to the press centre of the Russian troops in Tajikistan, Novikov expressed concern about continuous provocations on the border and the concentration of opposition forces on the territory of Afghanistan, especially in Pamir region. He also informed the envoy of the Russian president about the steps which Russian frontier troops undertook to ensure the protection of the border from incessant attacks of the opposition.

Ryurikov promised to convey the information to the governments of Russia and other CIS countries-members of the Treaty on Collective Security.

Also on Wednesday Ryurikov will meet Tajik Prosecutor General Amirkul Azimov, Interior Minister Saidamir Zukhurov and commander of Russian peacekeepers in Tajikistan Valentin Bobryshev.

### Objections to Russian Military Advisers Noted

*MM2311131495 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 2*

[Report by Umed Babakhanov: "Russian Uniform, Tajik Pay. Will Lieutenant Ivanovs Be Training Foreign Soldiers?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dushanbe — It seems that Russian military advisers will shortly be serving in the Tajik Armed Forces as they once served in Cuba and Libya. The question of the ratification of the agreement between the Russian Federation Government and the Government of Tajikistan on sending Russian military advisers and specialists to Tajikistan has been put to a session of the Tajik parliament. This document was signed in Moscow October 1994 by the two states' defense ministers According to current reports, the Russian State Duma has already ratified the agreement, therefore if it is approved by the Tajik parliament it should start to be put into practice.

What is the heart of the document? Article 2 of the agreement reads as follows: "Russian military advisers and specialists will provide the command of the Republic of Tajikistan Armed Forces with practical assistance in organizing combat training and field instruction for staffs, improving the troops' organizational structure and command and control, drawing up operational and mobilization documents, training national military cadres, and in other matters pertaining to the organizational development and strengthening of the Republic of Tajikistan's Armed Forces. Russian military advisers and specialists are to take no direct part in combat operations."

The Tajik opposition has already sharply criticized the document, saying that, if it is ratified, Tajikistan will cease to exist as a sovereign state. A foreign army and foreign military advisers will allegedly become the supreme executive in Tajikistan and their upkeep will be the main item of expenditure in the Tajik budget.

## Armenia

### General: Russian Troops in Armenia Serve Interests

*NC2311054995 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1246 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In an interview to "RESPUBLIKA ARMENIA" daily, touching upon the situation on Armenia's borders, Commander-in-Chief of Armenian National Security Ministry's Frontier Troops, Major-General Levon Stepanyan said that out of 1,728 km of Armenia's state border only its outer part is "locked". In particular, in compliance with interparliamentary agreement of 1992 Armenia's border with Turkey and Iran is defended by Russian Frontier Troops. At the same time, Russian frontier troops in Armenia are guided by interstate agreements of the former USSR with Turkey and Iran, Treaties on border issues of CIS countries, as well as legislative and normative acts of Russian Frontier Troops which do not contradict Armenian legislature, including law "On State border" adopted in 1994.

Mr. Stepanyan pointed out that presence of Russian Frontier Troops in Armenia fully met the military-political interests of Armenia. "We have mutual understanding and direct contacts with our Russian friends, with the Council of CIS Frontier Troops' Commanders-in-Chief, with its Chairman - director of Federal Frontier Service of Russian Federation, General Andrey Nikolayev. We do not worry about these sections of the border". As far as the border with Azerbaijan is concerned (including with Nakhichevan), it is defended by military units and troops of Armenian National Army.

In response to a question whether the transparency and demarcation of the border with Georgia is admissible for Armenia or not Commander-in-Chief answered that the demarcation could cost too much both for Armenia and Georgia. "We need to form this border leaving it transparent but controllable". According to Stepanyan, this principle is at the stage of realization now. "Armenian frontier troops has recently started guarding in Bagratashen direction of Noyemberian region," Stepanyan added.

### Russian Commander on Talks, Regional Security

*NC2311215595 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Before leaving Yerevan for Moscow, General Andrey Nikolayev, director of Russia's Federal Frontier Service, gave an interview to ARMENPRES. We bring to your attention to the following excerpts of this interview:

Regarding the purpose of his visit, Nikolayev replied: This was a working visit that took place at the direction of President Boris Yeltsin and within the framework of an understanding reached with the Armenian leadership, which was connected with issues relating to the safeguarding security in the Caucasus and implementing agreements between Russia, Armenia, and other CIS countries. Several issues were discussed during the meeting with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. The first was the safeguarding of a stable regional security. Matters based on the documents signed in Minsk on CIS collective security and joint border defense were examined. Second, issues discussed related to conflicts, methods and means of resolving them, and the Armenian president's views regarding them as fundamental problems. The presence, staffing, financing, and other problems of our border troops in Armenia were also examined in detail. The Service's director added: I would like to note specifically that there is no complication in principle regarding this sphere. The Armenian leadership and other structures are showing interest on consolidating ties, and we welcome this stance.

Referring to ties with Azerbaijan, Nikolayev said: We would like Azerbaijan to join the agreements that we have with Armenia and Georgia.

### President To Tighten Turkish, Iranian Border Controls

*LD2311183795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told visiting director of the Russian Federal Border Service Andrey Nikolayev that Armenia would do whatever it could to tighten border controls with neighboring Turkey and Iran.

He pledged to help finance the measure and raise troops to this end.

For his part, Nikolayev said the Armenian border with those two countries was less troublesome than elsewhere adding that the joint Armenian-Russian border force was able to cope with the tasks facing it.

He described as stable the border situation in the region due to "a certain level of cooperation" with Turkey and Iran. IF Note: Under the Moscow-Yerevan deal, Russia and Armenia go half-and-half in providing troops for the protection of the Armenian border.

## Azerbaijan

### President Aliyev Addresses New Parliament

*LD2411123995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1220 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[By Sevindzh Abdullayeva, Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, November 24 (Itar-Tass) — The adoption of a new constitution of the republic and the election of its first democratic parliament are history-making achievements proving the viability of the Azeri state and showing that the country is confidently following the course of independence, President Geydar Aliyev said today, addressing the first session of the new Azeri parliament.

According to Aliyev, the achievements look even more significant, if one takes into account the complicated situation facing the republic: it has lost 20 per cent of its territory. The new fundamental law has created a legal basis for consolidating state independence of Azerbaijan, ensuring the rights and freedoms of its citizens and building a secular and democratic society, Aliyev said. On the whole, he described the parliamentary elections, held on November 12, as democratic and specially mentioned the effective work of the central electoral commission.

Aliyev admitted that the critical remarks, made by international observers about violations in the course of the electoral campaign and the voting, were correct, but pointed out at the same time that such violations were natural. We did not even hope that everything would go smoothly, he said. He believes, however, that this did not undermine the democratic character of the elections.

Aliyev expressed hope that he would maintain good and businesslike relations with the new parliament, as well as confidence that the law-making work of the parliament would promote the solution of important problems facing Azerbaijan. He pointed to a high level of the new parliament, which, in his opinion, reflects the intellectual and cultural potential of the Azeri nation.

### Rasul Guliyev Re-elected Chairman of Parliament

*LD2411144495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 24 Nov 95*

[By Sevindz Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, November 24 (Itar-Tass) — Rasul Guliyev, who is 48-years-old, was today elected Chairman of the milli mejlis (parliament) of Azerbaijan. Eighty-four mps voted for his candidature, recommended by Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev. Taking part in the voting were 87 out of the 90 mps attending the meeting.

Guliyev headed the previous Azerbaijani parliament for the past two years. Before that he was Vice-Premier and Vice-President of the Azerbaijani state petroleum company. He had directed the largest Soviet oil refinery for almost fifteen years. Guliyev is an active supporter of Aliyev in all the latter's ventures, including his efforts to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict by peaceful, political means. He was among the initiators of the Bishkek protocol, which laid the beginning for a ceasefire in the zone of hostilities. It has already been observed for more than one and a half years.

### Composition of National Assembly, Vote Count Detailed

*NC2311111195 Baku TURAN in English 0859 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[Punctuation as received]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/22.11.95/TURAN—Three political parties will be in the Milli Mejlis [National Assembly] on the proportional system - "Yeni Azerbaycan" [New Azerbaijan] (chairman - President Aliyev), National Independence party (chairman - Etibar Mamedov) and the Popular Front party (chairman - Abulfaz Elchibey), Secretary of the Central Election Commission, Isa Mamedaliyev, told TURAN's correspondent.

He said 3 million 556,277 electors or 86.5 percent from total number of electors took part at elections on the proportional system. Totally 3 million 511,055 ballot papers were extracted from the ballot boxes and 140,642 of them appeared to be invalid.

Eight parties, which participated at the elections on proportional system, collected the following number of votes: Democratic Independence party - 106,782 votes (3 percent), Democratic Owners [Proprietors] party - 142,343 (4 percent), National State system [Statehood] party - 43,259 (1.21 percent), National Independence party - 331,865 (9.33 percent), Alliance in the Name of Azerbaijan - 30,811 (0.86 percent), Popular Front of Azerbaijan - 346,092 (9.73 percent), Ana Veten [Motherland] - 140,821 (3.96 percent), Yeni Azerbaycan - 2 million 228,435 (62.66 percent).

The places in the Parliament are divided as following: Yeni Azerbaycan - 19 places, Popular Front party - 3 places, National Independence party - 3 places.

Yeni Azerbaycan party in the Parliament will be presented by Academician Ziya Bunyatov, rector of Baku's State University, Murtuz Aleskerov, prime-minister, Fuad Guliyev, deputy chairman of the party, Ali Nagiyev, a head of local Russian community, Michael Zabelin, Asya Manafova, press-secretary of the party, Eldar Sabiroglu, and others.

The National Independence party will be presented in the Milli Mejlis by Etibar Mamedov, Nazim Imanov and Shadman Huseynov. The Popular Front - by Ali Kerimov, Mirmahmud Fattayev and Gulamhuseyin Aliyev.

* Totally there will be 125 places in new Parliament and 25 of them will be elected on proportional system.

### Security Ministry on Possible Bombing Campaign

*NC2311222295 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[Statement by National Security Ministry; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a tip obtained by the National Security Ministry in early November, the enemies of stability in the Republic had planned to detonate explosive devices in crowded places in Sumgait from 1 to 12 November to disrupt the parliamentary elections. In view of this, additional security measures were taken in Sumgait and in other cities in the Republic with the cooperation of law enforcement and local administrative organs; thus, a major tragedy was averted.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] A new tip obtained 21 November shows that the same forces have not given up their hideous intentions. The presence of explosives at a site in Sumgait was tipped off. Some 20 TNT slabs, each weighing 200 kg, were found in a package during a search conducted by National Security Ministry personnel at 7:00 [not further specified] on 22 November in the place indicated in the tip.

The National Security Ministry has opened a criminal investigation into the case and searches and operations are continuing.

In view of this, the National Security Ministry urges the public to be alert and help law enforcement organs prevent any possible sabotage. Report suspicious incidents and persons by dialing 950491 at the National Security Ministry, and 927396 at the Internal Affairs Ministry. Informants are guaranteed anonymity. [end recording]

## Georgia

### UN Envoy Urges 'More Effective' Measures in Abkhazia

*LD2211200595 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandre Chikvaidze received Liviu Bota, resident deputy to the UN special envoy to Georgia. The two sides discussed the current situation in Georgia. In particular the discussion focused on the Abkhaz issue and the search for ways of the conflict settlement. Bota said that more effective measures must be taken in order to establish peace and resolve the issue of the refugees' return, which is the aim of the UN mission's presence in the conflict zone.

It must be noted that the UN mission's mandate expires on 12 January 1996, and its renewal will depend largely on a breakthrough at the Georgian-Abkhaz talks [in Moscow].

### TV Account of Abkhazia Talks Questioned

*MM2311113395 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 95 p 1*

["Own Information" report: "State in Ruins: Union or Single"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Public Television announcement that the Georgian-Abkhazian talks under way in Moscow have become deadlocked does not accord with reality, PRAVDA has been told by the Abkhazian state delegation.

Anri Dzhergeniya, the Abkhazian president's personal spokesman, said that the talks had begun in a constructive and businesslike manner in early November. Nine of the 10 articles of the three-page document were agreed. Disagreements only remained over the name of the state. "We insisted on the word 'union' [soyuznyy], while our opponents insisted on the word 'single' [yedinyy]. Then the Russian Foreign Ministry mediators for some reason quit the talks. Boris Pastukhov is traveling around the world, and we are waiting to be invited to finally adopt the documents. We have not had any news from the Russian Foreign Ministry for about 10 days.... Someone wants to present us in an unpleasant light."

The Abkhazian representatives "learn" about the progress of their talks from mass media reports. They were extremely concerned to hear on Russian Public Television that "the talks in Moscow are at a tricky stage." The point is that talks are not under way, period! Or rather they are under way, but elsewhere and at a different level. Federal Border Service Director Andrey Nikolayev and Abkhazian President Vladislav Ardzinba spent Tuesday in Adler deciding whether Russian ships could enter the port of Sukhumi or not. They parted pleased with one another.

### Abkhaz Leader on Holding Presidential Elections

*LD2211215395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SUKHUMI, Nov 22 (Interfax) — Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba announced his intention to hold presidential elections in the republic at a press conference in Sukhumi Wednesday.

"Presidential elections may be held simultaneously with the parliamentary ones in several months," he said.

Ardzinba had been elected as Abkhazia's president by the republic's parliament on November 26, 1995, for five years.

However, he said he wanted his powers to be confirmed by a popular vote.

Ardzinba also said he will hold a referendum on the Abkhazian Constitution adopted on the same day. He did not exclude the possibility of holding another referendum on Abkhazia's relations with Georgia and Russia.

Speaking on the ongoing Georgian-Abkhazian talks in Moscow, he said they were difficult. "It may take the sides some time to reach a compromise," he added.

Speaking on the situation in Abkhazia, Ardzinba said budget revenues over the first 10 months of this year exceeded those of the same 1994 period by four times. He was confident that Abkhazia was of much interest for big business.

### Adzharia Head Will Not Attend Shevardnadze Inauguration

*LD2311150995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1148 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[By Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI November 23 (Itar-Tass) — The leader of a Georgian autonomous republic will not attend the inauguration of the new president of Georgia, Eduard Shevarnadze, which is to take place on November 26 in Tbilisi.

Aslan Abashidze, the parliament chairman of Adzharia, a Georgian region bordering on Turkey, told journalists in Batumi on Thursday he would miss the ceremony for "security reasons".

Abashidze said he had already congratulated Shevardnadze on his election as the president of Georgia and will go to Tbilisi only when he finds it necessary.

Abashidze, the vice-speaker of the former Georgian parliament, has never come to Tbilisi since 1992 for the same security reasons.

There are certain signs of a separatist trend in Adzharia, but, in contrast to Abkhazia, Abashidze succeeded to avoid an open conflict with Tbilisi.

Shevardnadze, a former communist leader of Georgia and former Soviet Foreign minister, was elected president on November 5.

### Party Appeals to U.S., NATO Over Elections

*LD2211193695 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 22 Nov — According to an agency correspondent, the National Independence Party held a news conference on 22 November. For the defeat in the elections, the National Independence Party blamed those opposition parties that had refused to unite in one bloc. It was noted at the meeting that the elections were falsified as a result of which national liberation forces suffered a heavy defeat.

In Irakli Tsereteli's opinion, nominating Akaki Bakradze as presidential candidate could not be justified. As for the elections in Ajaria, it was noted that the observers had been physically abused at polling stations and there had been glaring instances of breaches in electoral law.

Tsereteli read out a letter by the National Independence Party to the leaders of the NATO member states. The letter says that as a result of antidemocratic elections, pro-Russian forces gained victory. In the above letter, Tsereteli offers cooperation to the United States and the NATO member states.

### Electoral Commission Head Denies Irregularities

*LD2211225095 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[Interview with Ivane Kighuradzhe, chairman of the Georgian Central Electoral Commission by Tamar Tsopurashvili; place, date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Tsopurashvili] Those parties which were left outside parliament now have complaints to the Central Electoral Commission. One of the complaints is that the state did not allocate funds for supporting those parties. There was a talk about it in the beginning of the election campaign, so why were funds not allocated?

[Kighuradze] Simply because the state did not have relevant funds. There is no law which says that the state is obliged to fund political parties. According to the law on political parties, the state must allocate certain amount of finances to political parties, of which 80 percent must go to the parties represented in parliament and the rest to those outside parliament. If we look through the election campaign and the number of advertisements in Tbilisi, one will not get the impression that political parties were all that poor after all.

[Tsopurashvili] At the moment, a member of the 21st Century bloc, Tamaz Kerdzevadze, is on hunger strike demanding that the protocol of the elections kept by the Central Electoral Commission be handed over to him. I am proceeding from their statement: They said that there was a state law stating that the protocol should be handed to political parties.

[Kighuradze] Every party had the possibility of assigning its representative in 2,600 electoral districts where the representative would have had a possibility to get hold of the protocol. Now, what do we offer them? We have the protocol stored in a computer, they can bring their floppy disc and copy it.

[Tsopurashvili] What will you say to the accusation that the number of electors was artificially increased?

[Kighuradze] This accusation is totally groundless. We recorded the protocols and the data which we had received from the electoral districts and we have not taken off anything or added anything to the lists. They must think before they come up with these accusations. I still think that these accusations come from those who are experts in falsification.

[Tsopurashvili] The fact that ballot boxes were kept for three days in Georgia's regions intensifies political parties' accusations that the elections were falsified.

[Kighuradze] I am not aware of any such instance. It was not that ballot boxes were kept in regions, it just took a long time for protocols to be delivered from electoral districts to constituencies, considering the conditions on the highways and the general situation in Georgia.

[Tsopurashvili] Another complaint. It is not as though I wanted to criticize you.

[Kighuradze] It is better to state your position in a straight manner.

[Tsopurashvili] And lastly, I have heard that these parties had up until 1800 on 6 November to register their complaints. What do you have to say in this connection?

[Kighuradze] This is written in the law and there is logic in it. This is how it works: the results of the elections are summed up in an electoral district on the same day, in our case it was on 5 November [as heard]; but the results in a constituency are not summed up yet so that parties and separate individuals do not know whether they have won or failed. If they notice a breach of law, then they must register it before the results are made known. It does not seem fair when an offended person starts to register irregularities after the results have been summed up.

## Shevardnadze Reaffirms Course for Combating Corruption

*LD2311184695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Shevardnadze believes as his top priority tasks as the Georgian president are "to continue the stabilization process, to use the production to full capacity and to fight corruption." The head of state made this statement meeting on Wednesday with members of the "Georgian Citizens Union" party, of which he is chairman.

Shevardnadze emphasized that "a merciless struggle will be declared to crime and corruption."

Speaking about the results of the elections, he said that "the people of Georgia have made the right choice by backing the course aimed at stabilization and reforms." He believes that the fact that "voters have backed at the parliamentary elections the presidential team, which will be represented in parliament by the constitutional majority," is very important. IF Note: Following the elections on the party lists, the "Georgian Citizens Union" has won 91 mandates in the new parliament. The Georgian parliament has 235 seats.

## Latvia

### European Parliament Hopes for Close Cooperation

*WS2311113595 Tallinn BNS in English*
*1900 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Nov 22, BNS — The European Parliament hopes for close cooperation with Latvia as the Baltic country is integrating into European structures, said Neil Sindal, head of the Europarliament delegation to Latvia.

During the meeting, the Europarliament and Latvian officials talked about Latvian-EU relations after the signing of the European Agreement, security issues and relations with Russia.

Sindal said he was hopeful that the forming of the government would not undermine Latvia's economic and social stability.

The visit of the Europarliament delegation is important for Latvia as a country which wants to join the EU and, thus, needs to align its laws with the EU standards, said parliament Vice Speaker Andris Ameriks.

The delegation also met today with Prime Minister Maris Gailis, Defense Minister Indra Samite and Privatization Minister Raimonds Jonitis and discussed agriculture, privatization and economic issues.

### Foreign Ministry Praises Balkan Peace Accord

*WS2311160295 Tallinn BNS in English*
*1326 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Nov 23, BNS — Latvia highly appreciates and welcomes the Nov. 21 peace accord between the states of former Yugoslavia, the Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

"This historic agreement makes an end to the war a reality and provides an opportunity to ensure lasting and stable peace in the region," the statement said.

Simultaneously, the ministry conceded that the achievement will "be unsafe unless all parties involved go straight ahead with implementing their commitments."

Latvia will support these efforts as much as it can, the ministry said.

### Nationalist Government Fails To Win Saeima Approval

*LD2311081195 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian*
*0800 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Voting for expressing confidence in the government formed by Prime Minister Maris Grinblats just took place at the Latvian Saeima — 48 deputies voted for, 51 voted against, and one abstained. Therefore, Grinblats' government was not approved.

## Lithuania

### Vilnius Welcomes Balkan Peace Accord

*WS2311160095 Tallinn BNS in English*
*1326 GMT 23 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Nov 23, BNS — Lithuania sent its congratulations on the peace accord for former Yugoslavia, expressing hope that the treaty will be successfully implemented.

Lithuania is also interested in joining in to help ensure peace in former Yugoslavia, including sending peacekeepers, and to help rebuild the country devastated by the civil war, a Lithuanian foreign ministry statement said Wednesday [22 November].

Lithuania plans to establish and expand its ties, first and foremost in the area of trade, with the governments of the region.

Negotiators for the conflicting parties agreed Tuesday to end the three-and-a-half-year war in Bosnia at a United States military base in Dayton, Ohio.

### President Holds News Conference on Talks in Sweden

*WS2211144295 Tallinn BNS in English*
*1017 GMT 22 Nov 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Stockholm, Nov 22, BNS — Sweden is prepared to help Lithuania in its efforts to achieve membership in the European Union, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said Tuesday after meeting with Swedish premier Ingvar Carlsson.

At a press conference in Stockholm, Brazauskas said that he had heard some "very good ideas" at his meeting with Carlsson.

"The Swedish government is prepared unconditionally to act as an intermediary for Lithuania in its efforts to become a member of the European Union," the Lithuanian head of state said. Yet he admitted that fulfilling the economic requirements demanded of candidates for EU membership would take "a great deal of preparation and time."

Brazauskas said there were other areas in which Lithuania can cooperate with both associate and full EU members. As one of these areas, the Lithuanian president mentioned efforts to guarantee security.

Lithuania is seeking NATO membership and there should be no fear due to Russia's negative reaction to plans for expansion of the alliance, he said.

Brazauskas said that he had talked extensively and specifically about illegal migrants using Lithuania as a transit route to the West.

The president said that the Swedish government already knew about discussions in the Lithuanian parliament's foreign affairs committee on possible suspension of the recently adopted law on refugee status.

However, as Brazauskas noted, "discussions in one or another parliamentary committee are not a parliamentary decision." He said that Sweden is prepared to help Lithuania in implementing the law on refugee status.

Lithuanian MPs discussed the possibility of freezing implementation of the refugee law passed last summer, since the financial burden was becoming too great for the country without the aid promised by Scandinavia.

When asked whether and when Lithuania plans to shut down the Ignalina nuclear power plant, Brazauskas said that this would not occur "in this millenium." He stressed that thanks to Swedish aid, the Ignalina plant was now much more safe and its operation represented "no danger at all."

Lithuania has earlier said it will start shutting down the power plant in the years 2010-2015.

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